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John J. Collins
General Editor

THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE

Joshua
13–24

A New Translation with
Introduction and Commentary

THOMAS B. DOZEMAN

THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE
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To Mary

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Preface

This commentary follows the general structure of the Anchor Yale Bible series. The interpretation of each chapter or smaller division of literature in the book of Joshua is divided into five sections: (1) Central Themes and Literary Structure, (2) Translation, (3) Notes, (4) Composition, and (5) Comments. "Central Themes and Literary Structure" provides an overview of each section of the commentary, highlighting the plot, main characters, and primary motifs. The "Translation" is of the Masoretic Text (MT). The "Notes" contain comparisons of the MT, LXX, and other textual versions. The transliteration of Hebrew and Greek follows the *SBL Handbook of Style*. In addition to textual criticism, the "Notes" provide commentary on the literary structure and the syntax of passages. The "Notes" also include commentary on the geographical terms in the book of Joshua. I have rendered the Arabic place-names in the identification of cities without diacritical markings. The reader is encouraged to consult the "Notes" as a resource for commentary in conjunction with the "Comments," since the methods of textual and literary criticism are interwoven in the study of Joshua. "Composition" reviews the history of research, the identification of possible authors in the formation of the book, and the genre of the literature. The section always concludes with my interpretation of the composition. The "Comments" provide the most wide-ranging interpretation, including the analysis of literary structure, the evaluation of the text within the history of religion and tradition, and the study of particular motifs and central themes.

For references to chapters 1–12 of the book of Joshua, see T. Dozeman, *Joshua 1–12: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 6B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

Acknowledgments

The commentary on the tribal distribution of land was challenging. The place-names and the borders in Josh 13–24 are extensive, and the function of the geographical design is difficult to discern. My interpretation was aided by emerging research from many colleagues. The Society of Biblical Literature sections on Joshua/Judges and on the Deuteronomistic History provided venues for sharing research on a variety of topics on Joshua, including the function of geography, the relationship of literary and textual criticisms, and the interpretation of central texts such as Josh 24. The Research Group of the Catholic Biblical Association on Divinity in the Ancient Near East provided lively exchange on the literary formation of Joshua. I am also grateful to my colleagues in Helsinki for a helpful session on editorial techniques in the book of Joshua. My research on Josh 13–24 was furthered by two sabbaticals from United Theological Seminary (2017, 2021) and appointments as Visiting Faculty at Garrett Theological Seminary, allowing for the use of its library (2017, 2021).

I thank Mohr Siebeck for the use of material from two previous publications, "Inner -Biblical Interpretation of Gilead in the Wars of Sihon and Og in the Tribal Territory East of the Jordan River" (pp. 163–80 in *Eigensinn und Entstehung der Hebräischen Bibel: Erhard Blum zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by Joachim J. Krause, Wolfgang Oswald, and Kristin Weingart) and "The Twelve Tribe System and Pan-Israelite Identity in the Post-Exilic Period: Reexamining Martin Noth's Amphictyonic Hypothesis" (pp. 79–92 in *Fortgeschreibenes Gotteswort: Studien zu Geschichte, Theologie und Auslegung des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Christoph Levin*).

John J. Collins once again provided insightful editorial assistance, strengthening the project in form and in content. Bill Nelson provided the maps. I also thank Abigail Storch and Susan Laity of the editorial staff at Yale University Press, as well as copyeditor Jessie Dolch for guiding the volume to completion.

I dedicate the commentary to my wife, Mary Ruth Talen. Mary and I have been partners on our academic journeys since college. What a trip!

Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
AJBI	Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities,* Josephus
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
ARAM	ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATS	*Ashland Theological Journal*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
AYBD	*Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
AzTh	Arbeiten zur Theologie

BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rectsgeschichte
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
D	Deuteronomic literature in the Pentateuch, including Deuteronomy
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
Dtr1	First Deuteronomistic redaction
Dtr2	Second Deuteronomistic redaction
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History
DtrL	Land-conquest narrative composed of Deuteronomy and Joshua
DtrN	Nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction
E	Elohist source of the Pentateuch
EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of Jørgen A. Knudtzon. *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–1915. Repr., Aalen: Zeller, 1964. Continued in Anson F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets, 359–379.* 2nd rev. ed. Develaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1978.
Eng.	"English" when the MT and English translation of the Bible differ in verse numbers.

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910.
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HeBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBHS	*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
J	Yahwist source of the Pentateuch
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JE	Jehovist combination of the Yahwist and Elohist sources of the Pentateuch
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
KAI	*Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.* H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient

LHBOTS	Library of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott, H. S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LXX	Septuagint
LXXA	Codex Alexandrinus
LXXB	Codex Vaticanus
MT	Masoretic Text
NAB	New American Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint.* Edited by A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
P	Priestly literature in the Pentateuch
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RivB	Rivista biblical italiana
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana*
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
TA	*Tel Aviv*

TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK	Züricher Bibelkommentare
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The book of Joshua divides between the conquest of the indigenous nations (Josh 1–12) and the distribution of the land to the twelve tribes (Josh 13–24). The book is framed by the commission of Joshua as the successor of Moses on the east side of the Jordan River (Josh 1) and by his death at the conclusion of the covenant ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24).

The conquest of the land (Josh 2–12) centers on the procession of the ark of the covenant from Shittim, east of the Jordan River, to its resting place at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, near Shechem on the west of the Jordan River (Josh 2–8). The procession includes a series of revelations into the nature of Yahwistic religion at four locations in the region identified as Benjamin in the second half of the book: At the crossing of the Jordan River, Yahweh is revealed as El, the living (Josh 3–4); at Gilgal, Yahweh discloses that he is the God of the exodus who is able to remove the disgrace of Egypt (Josh 5); at Jericho, Yahweh wages holy war (Josh 6); and at Ai, the theft of booty clarifies the demands of covenant loyalty to Yahweh as the God of Israel (Josh 7). The goal of the procession is the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, later identified within the region of Manasseh, where Joshua builds an altar to Yahweh as the God of Israel (8:30–35). The first half of the book concludes with Joshua defeating the remaining indigenous nations (Josh 9–12), thus clearing the region for the distribution of the land to the twelve tribes.

The second half of the book describes the distribution of the land to the tribes (Josh 13–23). The allocation of land may be divided into three parts at distinct locations (13:8–19:51): East of the Jordan River, Moses allocates land to Reuben, Gad, and East Manasseh (Josh 13); at Gilgal, Joshua distributes land to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to the sons of Joseph, made up of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17); and at Shiloh, Joshua allocates the land to the remaining seven tribes (Josh 18–19). Shiloh remains the setting for the appointment of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities (Josh 20–21), as well as the conflict over the altar east of the Jordan River (Josh 22). The distribution of land is framed by the themes of the remaining land (13:1–7) and the remaining nations (Josh 23), which creates tension with the account of the successful distribution of land to the tribes (13:8–19:21) and with the completed conquest (Josh 1–12). The book of Joshua concludes with the covenant ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24).

Central Themes

The themes in Josh 1–12 are tied to the stories of holy war against Jericho and Ai, as the ark processed through Benjamin to its resting place on Mount Ebal near Shechem. The themes included the quality of divine presence represented by the ark, the role of the ban in waging holy war, and the nature of aniconic religion in the representation of Yahweh and the emphasis on monotheism. These themes are presupposed in the second half of the book of Joshua as well. But the focus in Josh 13–24 shifts from waging war to forming tribal identity in the land. The two central themes in Josh 13–24 are the nature of the twelve-tribe system as a form of pan-Israelite identity, and the geographical distribution of the land as a means of defining intertribal relationships.

TWELVE TRIBES AND PAN-ISRAELITE IDENTITY

The identity of Israel as the twelve tribes is a central theme in the book of Joshua. The phrase "twelve tribes of Israel" (*šĕnê ʿāśār šibṭê yiśrāʾēl*) is restricted to five texts in the Hebrew Bible: the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:28), the stone altar built by Moses (Exod 24:4), the breastplate of Aaron (Exod 28:21, 39:14), and Ezekiel's account of the distribution of the land (Ezek 47:13). The texts clarify that the vision of Israel as "twelve tribes" is one of pan-Israelite identity created through genealogy (Gen 49:28), shared cultic practice (Exod 24:4, 28:21, 39:14), and the possession of land (Ezek 47:13). The Blessing of Jacob clarifies that the twelve tribes designate an ethnic group related through the genealogy of Jacob/Israel, "their father" (Gen 49:28). The non-Priestly account of Moses building an altar from twelve pillars (Exod 24:4) indicates the importance of shared cultic practice in the identity of the Israelite tribes, as does the description of Aaron's breastplate in the Priestly description of the "twelve stones . . . for the twelve tribes" (Exod 28:21, 39:14). Ezekiel underscores the importance of the possession of land when the Deity states, "[T]hese are the boundaries by which you shall divide the land for inheritance among the twelve tribes of Israel" (Ezek 47:13; see also Sir 44:23). The references provide a starting point for interpreting the twelve tribes in the book of Joshua.

The twelve tribes represent pan-Israelite identity in the book of Joshua through common genealogy, centralized communal worship, the joint possession of the land, and the political formation of the tribal league. The twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity is accentuated in the book during the crossing of the Jordan River, when the twelve tribes are bound together in following the ark of the covenant across the Jordan River (3:14, 17; 4:7). During this event, Joshua instructs the Israelites: "Now, take for yourselves twelve men from the tribes of Israel, one man for each tribe" (3:12), who must collect twelve stones according to "the number of the tribes of Israel" (4:5). The genealogy of the twelve tribes is emphasized in the closing speech of Joshua, when he identifies Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as their common ancestors (24:2–4). The twelve tribes also share in the possession of the land, when the Deity commands Joshua, "Now divide this land into an inheritance" (13:7, 14:2). The tribes are unified in worship, when "all the Israelites" gather at the cultic site on Mount Ebal before Yahweh, the God of Israel (8:33); and they are also united politically when "all the tribes of Israel" return to Shechem in the closing covenant ceremony to form the tribal league in service to Yahweh, the God of Israel (24:1). Past research on the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity provides further background for interpreting the theme in the book of Joshua.

M. Noth and the System of the Twelve Tribes

The most influential study of the twelve tribes in the past century was M. Noth's *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels* (1930). In this study, Noth (1930: 3) interpreted the meaning of the twelve tribes through a tradition-historical analysis of the lists of the tribes in the Hebrew Bible. Although the texts were mostly late Priestly compositions, Noth argued that the lists preserved an ancient and closed tradition of the twelve tribes, tied to the ancestor Israel. The tradition was independent of the traditions of the ancestors Jacob, Abraham, and Isaac, and even from the account of Jacob's wives and concubines who give birth to the twelve tribal ancestors. All of these broader genealogical connections were secondary developments (1930: 6). By describing the tradition as closed, Noth (1930: 6) also emphasized that the number twelve was essential to the creation of pan-Israelite identity in the period of the judges, since the tribes were originally organized into six- and twelve-member systems.

Noth (1930: 29) argued that the tradition-historical study of the twelve-tribe system must begin with the comprehensive lists of twelve tribes. He disagreed with interpreters who sought to recover a development in the formation of the twelve-tribe system. Noth criticized B. Luther (1901) for tracing just such a development of pan-Israelite identity from Judah and Israel as brothers during the period of the united monarchy, when Solomon segmented the land into twelve districts (1 Kgs 4), to the later emergence of the twelve-tribe system after the split of the kingdoms. Noth (1930: 30) countered that the twelve-tribe lists do not take into account the political separation of Israel and Judah in any way. The reason was that the pan-Israelite orientation of the twelve-tribe system arose in the premonarchic period in opposition to Canaanite rule. Noth (1930: 31–32) characterized the pan-Israelite perspective as a "national-Israelite" orientation, which dissolved with the rise of the monarchy. The twelve-tribe system was preserved in a document, however, which allowed for the preservation of the system even after it ended with the rise of the monarchy (1930: 32).

Noth acknowledged the concentration of the twelve-tribe system in late Priestly literature, especially in the tribal lists, but these texts preserved information from the original formation of the tribes. For this reason, the lists required a tradition-historical investigation to understand their origin. The study focused on the number of the tribes, their names, and the inner relationship of the tribal members in the different lists (1930: 1–2). This methodology created a rigid approach for interpreting the tribal lists, since the reconstruction of the original form of the twelve tribes was the control for evaluating the variations in the literature. The task, therefore, was to uncover the most basic form of the twelve-tribe list to account for changes over time. Two forms emerged based on the presence or absence of Levi: The oldest (System A) included Levi and Joseph (e.g., the Blessing of Jacob, Gen 49:3–27; the birth of Jacob's sons, Gen 29:31–30:34, 35:16–18; and various other tribal lists, Gen 46:8–25, Exod 1:2–4, Deut 27:12–14, Ezek 48:31–35, and 1 Chr 2:2); a later version (System B) presupposed System A, since it replaced Joseph with Ephraim and Manasseh to account for the absence of Levi (e.g., various lists in Num 1:5–15, 1:20–43, 2:3–31, 7:12–83, 13:4–15, 26:5–51; Josh 13–19;

21:4–7; 21:9–39). Noth (1930: 7–8) identified Gen 49 as an early example of System A; it was composed during the period of the united monarchy, but it contained older independent material. The two census lists in Num 1:5–15 and 26:5–51 were early examples of System B; each list contained traditions about the twelve tribes from the late period of the judges. All other Priestly and post-Priestly twelve-tribe lists in Numbers derived from Num 1:5–15 and 26 (1930: 15–20).

Interpreters critically evaluated the results of Noth's research, but his tradition-historical orientation continued to provide the framework for analysis. For example, C. H. J. de Geus (1976: 90–92) questioned the early role of Joseph in Gen 49 and thus Noth's tradition-historical assessment of the text. On this basis, he reversed the order of the two tribal systems, arguing that the lists with Joseph were later than the lists with Ephraim and Manasseh; but the framework of Noth's organization of the tribal lists remained. Z. Kallai (1997b, 1999) identified a development from one list to separate genealogical and geographical lists, each of which divided further into two versions. H. Weippert (1973) detected a separate geographical system of the twelve tribes, but her study too only expanded the results of Noth's tradition-historical study from two to three forms of the lists. Thus, in spite of critical evaluation, Noth's study continued to establish the framework for interpretation, prompting modification rather than the rejection of the entire approach.

The replacement of tradition-historical research with literary criticism in the late twentieth century set the stage for the rejection of the early origin of the twelve-tribe system. The transition in method is evident in A. D. H. Mayes; he agreed with Noth that the number twelve was prominent in the tribal lists, but he also argued that literary context was important for interpreting all of the material on the twelve tribes. Mayes (1974: 22–23) noted that the order of the tribes in Gen 49, with Joseph at the end (49:22–26), followed the order of the birth of Jacob's sons (Gen 29:31). Mayes added that the lists in Numbers varied far more than Noth's tradition-historical solution would suggest. In view of this, he focused on a more detailed literary study of the tribal lists, concluding that the narrative context and the literary technique of the compositions were more important in accounting for differences among the lists than Noth allowed (1974: 15–83).

C. Levin (2003) undertook a more thorough literary study of the tribal lists, calling into question the entire tradition-historical hypothesis. He rejected Noth's assertion that the twelve-tribe system was ancient in Gen 49, on the basis of the evidence of redactional additions in the frame (parts of 49:1, 28–29), the order of the tribes, and inner-biblical references to Reuben (Gen 35:22a) and to Simeon and Levi (Gen 34; 17:10, 12). Subsequent literary study of the twelve-tribe system reinforced the interpretation of Levin. Interpreters tended to recognize early material in Gen 49 (e.g., Hendel, 2012: 51–54; Halpern, 1983: 127–28; Hoop, 1999: 568–81; Sparks, 2003; Tobolowsky, 2017: 55–62), but most judged the twelve-tribe system in the present form of the text to be a late literary development, either near the fall of the Northern Kingdom (Fleming, 2012: 85–90) or in the postexilic period (Schorn, 1997: 249–55). The history of composition in Gen 49 also indicated the rewriting of a northern-oriented document to emphasize Judah, which created the focus on two characters rather than one.

C. Levin also rejected Noth's tradition-historical interpretation of the tribal lists in Numbers. Noth had argued that Num 1:5–15 and 26:5–51 contained ancient tradition from the tribal period based in part on the relationship of the names to material from Mari. Levin countered that both texts were neither ancient nor independent, but that they developed in relationship with the tribal lists in the Pentateuch. The names in Num 1:5–15, for example, indicated that the composition was dependent on the other lists in Numbers: The names are repeated in Num 2, 7, and 10, while the action of Aaron and Moses to muster 603,550 is dependent on Num 1:20–43, as is the order of the tribes Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun. Such literary dependence indicated the late composition of Num 1:5–15 and its dependence on other tribal lists. Numbers 26 was an even later post-Priestly end-redaction of the Pentateuch, dependent on Gen 46:8–25. Levin conceded that a tribal list like Num 26 was often more original than the personification of characters in a list like Gen 46, but in this instance the dependence went in the other direction. Examples included the stylized reference to Dan (Num 26:42–43, Gen 46:23); the deliberate modification of Judah (Num 26:19–21, Gen 46:12); the similar headings (Num 26:4b, Gen 46:8b); and the change in form from a directory of names to genealogy, evident in the reference to Reuben's firstborn status (Num 26:5a, Gen 46:8b). "All of these observations," Levin (2003: 115–16) wrote, "prove that Num 26 is not an original tradition, but rather a derivative text that cannot support Noth's hypothesis" (author's translation).

Subsequent research on the tribal lists in Numbers reinforced C. Levin's interpretation. In her 1997 dissertation, for example, U. Schorn (1997: 33–53) rejected the tradition-historical analysis of Noth that the lists represented old tradition inserted secondarily in Numbers. She emphasized, instead, the role of authors in constructing the tribal lists, identifying Num 1:20–43, 2:3–31, and 10:14–28 as part of the Priestly source (P^g) and Num 1:5–15, 7:12–83, and 26:5–51 as post-Priestly supplements (P^s). She concluded: "Neither the list of P^g nor the P^s layer allows for any recognition that their content goes back to older material. Rather they turn out to be created by the respective authors of the lists of the twelve tribes and thus belong to the exilic and postexilic periods" (1997: 52; author's translation). The rejection of tradition-history in favor of the literary study of the tribal lists comes full circle in the work of A. Tobolowsky (2017: 68–78), who concluded that the Priestly author(s) invented the twelve-tribe system, thus returning to the conclusion of researchers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who provided the original backdrop that Noth rejected.

Reevaluation of the Twelve-Tribe System and Pan-Israelite Identity

Noth assumed pan-Israelite identity throughout the history of Israel. He interpreted the twelve-tribe system to be prominent in the period of the judges, giving way to a distinct corporate identity in the period of the monarchy, when the focus shifted to kings and administrative districts. The social transformation from tribes to monarchy challenged the twelve-tribe system, according to Noth, but pan-Israelite identity remained constant through the social changes. Critical evaluation of Noth's research was wide ranging throughout the twentieth century, but it did not challenge the assumption of the early formation of pan-Israelite identity. New research, however, has called into question Noth's core assumption of pan-Israelite identity as a social sentiment that shaped the history and the cultural development of ancient Israel from its origin in the premonarchic period.

Pan-Israelite identity is increasingly judged to be a late social development no earlier than the late monarchic period, even though reference to "Israel" appears early within the historical record in the Merneptah Stele (*ANET* 376–78), which describes the Egyptian military success over the Libyans during the fifth year of Merneptah's reign (1213–1203 BCE). The Merneptah Stele indicates that "Israel" could be identified in some way as a social group in the late thirteenth century BCE (Sparks, 1998: 106–7; see the review by Mihăilă, 2010: 367–75). Interpreters continue to debate a range of issues, however, including the exact meaning of the term "Israel" (Thompson, 1999: 79; Sparks, 1998: 105–9; Margalith, 1990; Weingart, 2014: 4–7) in the Assyrian inscriptions (*ANET* 279; Weingart, 2014: 5–6), in the Mesha Inscription (*ANET* 320–21), and in biblical literature from the monarchic period (Dever, 2017: 191–94; Na'aman, 1994). There is also debate whether the Merneptah Stele provides geographical information on the location of Israel from the sequence of references to Ashkelon, Gezer, Yano'am, and Israel (Aharoni, 1979: 385; Rainey and Notley, 2006: 99). Dever (2017: 191–94) provided the general conclusion that the "Israel" in the stele "was not located in the lowlands, under Egyptian domination, but in the more remote central hill country, on the frontier" (2017: 194). This location corresponds to the research of Finkelstein (1988: 39–52), who identified concentrated settlements of pastoral nomads in the northern highlands during the Late Bronze and Early Iron periods; this is the area extending north of Jerusalem and ending south of the Jezreel Valley. The reference to "Israel" in the Merneptah Stele may reflect the continued presence of these pastoral nomads in the northern highlands (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2001: 57). The region is an isolated frontier with severe topography that made travel and communication difficult (Dever, 2017: 65); it is the region that the Bible later "calls either Jacob or Israel; or Joseph; or Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin" (Noll, 2013: 13). The narrow focus on the northern highlands would not support Noth's assumption of pan-Israelite identity in the premonarchic period, since his hypothesis assumed a larger population that extended into the southern highlands, the area south of Jerusalem to Hebron.

Research on the united monarchy further challenged the assumption of the early presence of pan-Israelite identity. Noth followed in general the portrayal of the biblical literature that the tribes were unified in the premonarchic period before becoming subsumed into a new form of pan-Israelite identity under the united monarchy. The process of political change began under Saul, according to Noth, but it continued to develop into the reigns of David and Solomon. The Hebrew Bible recounts David and Solomon as refashioning a new form of pan-Israelite identity with the establishment of the united monarchy at Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:6–10) in the tenth century BCE. The united monarchy reorganized the tribes into a single nation (2 Sam 5:1–5) with twelve districts (1 Kgs 4:7–19); it introduced new forms of urban architecture at Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer (1 Kgs 9:15); and it made Jerusalem the center of international trade and political power (1 Kgs 3:1, 5:7–17).

Researchers question the biblical account of an early golden age during which a strong monarchy combined the north and the south into a unified kingdom centered in Jerusalem, supported by pan-Israelite identity (see the review in Bishop and Kelle, 2011: 145–265). The conclusion of Alt (1953g) that the description of the kingdom of Solomon as twelve districts (1 Kgs 4:7–19) provided firm historical information on the influence of the twelve-tribe system upon the united monarchy has been modified or rejected by a number of interpreters (e.g., Ash, 1995; Nelson, 2015; Na'aman, 2001; Van Seters, 1983: 307–12). Further challenges to the early formation of pan-Israelite identity include the late transition of the Southern Kingdom to a form of monarchy only after the rise of the Northern Kingdom (Finkelstein, 2013; Kratz, 2015: 19–20); the late population growth of Jerusalem after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (Thompson, 1992: 288–92; A. Mazar, 2010: 34); and the redating of the monumental gates at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer from the tenth century BCE (Yadin, 1958) to the ninth (Finkelstein and Mazar, 2007; Finkelstein, 2013; A. Mazar, 2010). The impact of the research, according to D. Ussishkin (2008: 218–34), was that the past assumption of wide-ranging urban construction throughout the northern and southern territories in the tenth century BCE by the united monarchy was replaced with a more gradual process of construction in the ninth century by unrelated regional kingdoms (see also Noll, 2013: 245–55). Finkelstein (2013: 9) summarized the resulting picture: "The demise of the united monarchy as a historical reality means that the two Hebrew kingdoms emerged parallel to each other, as neighboring entities independent of each other, in line with the long-term history of the central highlands in the Bronze and Iron Ages." The separate development of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms pushed the development of pan-Israelite identity later into the history of the monarchic period.

The point of debate in recent research is whether pan-Israelite identity emerged before or after the downfall of the Northern Kingdom. Fleming (2012: 45) noted that "Israel" and "Judah" were fundamentally different polities, but he maintained that the assimilation of northern identity by Judah may have occurred from traditions surrounding David's original rule over the north (see also Williamson, 2011). Na'aman (2010: 6–14) argued, instead, that Judahites began to take on the identity of northern Israelites before the fall of the Northern Kingdom; he attributed the development of pan-Israelite identity to the cultural superiority of the north in the same way that the Assyrians assimilated the culture of the Babylonians. The assimilation of northern identity by the Southern Kingdom may have emerged before the fall of the Northern Kingdom, but it does not appear to be evident in any public or political organization. The Assyrians, for example, appear to be unaware of any merging of the two kingdoms (Schneider, 2002: 9–10). The lack of evidence prompted Finkelstein (2013, 155–56) to locate the advent of pan-Israelite identity later, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom: "The emergence of biblical Israel [by which he means pan-Israelite identity] as a concept was . . . the result of the fall of the kingdom of Israel," when the "term 'Israel' became vacant territorially and politically," and when there was also an influx of northern refugees into the Southern Kingdom.

The research on the meaning of "Israel" in the Hebrew Bible and the emergence of pan-Israelite identity is incomplete and ongoing (see the review of Weingart, 2014: 8–53). Yet the results suggest the earliest origin of pan-Israelite sentiment is likely in the late monarchic period, whether before the fall of the Northern Kingdom or in the wake of its destruction. This conclusion calls into question Noth's core assumption about pan-Israelite identity as a social sentiment that shaped the history and cultural development of ancient Israel from its origin in the premonarchic period. The historical research is in contrast to the prominent role of pan-Israelite identity in the book of Joshua, with its portrait of a unified tribal system in the premonarchic period. The composition of Joshua assumes not only pan-Israelite identity, but also the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity, which develops even later in history.

"Biblical Israel" and Pan-Israelite Identity in the Late Monarchic Period

The independent development of two Hebrew kingdoms raises questions about the literary composition and the intention of the biblical authors, who anchored pan-Israelite identity in the premonarchic and early monarchic periods. P. R. Davies (2015) sought to sharpen the literary problem. He concluded that all past assumptions concerning the early formation of pan-Israelite identity must be reframed, since historical research made it clear that the two kingdoms did not share a common identity and that Judahites (the Southern Kingdom) did not originally think of themselves as Israelites (the Northern Kingdom). He posed the literary problem in the following manner: "How do we account for the view in some biblical writing that Judah was always part of an 'Israelite people'?" (2015: xiv). Davies introduced a distinction between "historical Israel" (the Northern Kingdom) and "biblical Israel" (the pan-Israelite vision of Israel and Judah as one people). He argued that the study of pan-Israelite identity in the formation of the biblical literature was a separate area of research from the history of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (2015: 11–63).

The term "Israel" in the prophetic corpus provides a window into its fluid meaning. Israel is restricted in meaning for the most part to the Northern Kingdom in Hosea (see Weingart, 2014: 268–70): Joash of Israel is the king of the north (Hos 1:1); the house of Israel is the Northern Kingdom (e.g., 1:4, 6; 5:1); Israel is identified as Ephraim (e.g., 5:3; 6:10; 7:1; 10:6; 11:8, 12; 13:1); its capital city is Samaria (e.g. 7:1, 8:6); and it may be contrasted to Judah: "Israel has forgotten his Maker and built palaces; and Judah has multiplied fortified cities" (8:14). Portions of Amos, First Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah also reflect the restricted designation of Israel as the Northern Kingdom (Kratz, 2005: 115; 2006; Williamson, 2011; Weingart, 2014: 190–235, 270–72). Amos contains prophecy against the Northern Kingdom: "Jeroboam shall die by the sword and Israel must go into exile away from his land" (7:10); Isaiah refers to Israel as the Northern Kingdom: "Yahweh sent a sword against Jacob and it fell on Israel" (9:8); Micah condemns Samaria for "the transgression of Jacob" and the "sins of the house of Israel" (1:5); and Jeremiah also singles out the Northern Kingdom as Israel: "Hear the word of Yahweh, O house of Jacob, and all the families of the house of Israel" (2:4).

These prophetic books also exhibit the broader meaning of "biblical Israel," in which the Northern and Southern Kingdoms are portrayed as a unified polity with a single identity (Schütte, 2012). Amos refers to the exodus as an event of salvation for all Israel: "Did I not bring Israel up from the land of Egypt?" (9:7). Isaiah addresses the Northern and Southern Kingdoms as "both houses of Israel" (8:14). Micah embeds the Southern Kingdom into the Northern Kingdom as one polity when he declares that the ruler of Israel will come from Judah: "But you, O Bethlehem of Ephrathah, who are one of the little clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to rule in Israel" (5:2). Jeremiah builds on the "all Israel" conception by repeatedly identifying the Deity in Jerusalem as "Yahweh of hosts, the God of Israel" (44:25). The political separation of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms also influenced future visions of pan-Israelite identity in the prophetic literature. Jeremiah provides illustration: "In those days the house of Judah shall join the house of Israel, and together they shall come from the land of the north to the land that I gave your ancestors for a heritage" (3:18). Hosea contains a similar vision of the unification of the two kingdoms: "The people of Judah and the people of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint for themselves one head; and they shall take possession of the land" (1:11). In all of these examples, pan-Israelite identity is expressed within the political framework of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.

The expressions of pan-Israelite sentiment in the prophetic corpus are part of the emergence of "biblical Israel" in the literature of the Hebrew Bible, in which the two Hebrew kingdoms are conceived as one unified people. Pan-Israelite identity is fashioned against the backdrop of the political separation of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, regardless of how one interprets the time period for the transition in the meaning of Israel. The majority of pan-Israelite references in the prophetic corpus, moreover, represent a southern perspective; they may rightly be described as the reinterpretation of the Judahite past in Israelite terms (Tobolowsky, 2017: 27). These portraits of "biblical Israel" do not include pan-Israelite identity as the "tribes" in general or more specifically as the "twelve tribes of Israel," which dominates in the book of Joshua.

"Biblical Twelve Tribes" and Pan-Israelite Identity in the Exilic and Postexilic Periods

The identification of all Israel as tribes represents a distinct vision of pan-Israelite identity. Noth (1930: 30) rightly recognized this when he concluded that the twelve-tribe system did not take the political separation of Israel and Judah into account in any way. For Noth, this indicated the early development of the twelve-tribe system in the premonarchic period. I agree with Noth's assessment that the twelve-tribe system is separate from the vision of the unified Northern and Southern Kingdoms. But I evaluate the absence of the political separation of the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms to indicate that the twelve tribes represent pan-Israelite identity after the fall of the Southern Kingdom. The emergence of the "biblical twelve tribes" does not take into account the political separation of Israel and Judah because it replaces the pan-Israelite vision of biblical Israel as the unification of two political kingdoms with a vision of tribal unity.

The Hebrew Bible contains two terms for "tribe": the more broadly used *šēbeṭ* (*HALOT* 1388–90) and the more restricted *maṭṭeh* (*HALOT* 573). Both terms convey a root meaning of "stick, staff, or rod." For example, *maṭṭeh* describes the staff of Moses (e.g., Exod 4:2, 7:15); *šēbeṭ* is a rod for beating out grain (Isa 28:27) or for punishment (Isa 11:4), but it too may describe a shepherd's staff (Mic 7:14). Both words may also describe the staff or scepter of a ruler, which conveys authority or political power (e.g., *šēbeṭ*, Isa 14:5; *maṭṭeh*, Ezek 19:12). Isaiah 9:3 (Eng. 9:4) employs both terms to describe political oppression: "For the yoke of their burden, and the bar (*maṭṭeh*) across their shoulders, the rod (*šēbeṭ*) of their oppressor, you have broken as on the day of Midian." The use of *šēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* to identify a "tribe" appears to be an extended use of the terms. The meaning of *šēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* as "tribe" provides insight into the emergence of the tribal form of pan-Israelite identity; it also provides background for interpreting the twelve-tribe system within the book of Joshua.

POETRY

Past research on the earliest formation of tribal pan-Israelite identity has focused on the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:1–31), the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:1–29), and the Song of Moses (Deut 33:1–29). The Song of Deborah has played an especially important role. Noth (1930: 36–37) recognized pan-Israelite identity in the "self-conscious" expectations of the different groups in the poem, which he concluded must presuppose the existence of the twelve-tribe system even though the number of groups is limited to ten. Many agreed that the core of the poem was ancient, either tenth or ninth century BCE, and that Judg 5:12–18 provided a window into ten northern regions called to participate in war (e.g., Sparks, 1998: 109–21; Fleming, 2012: 64–66, 68–69; Knauf, 2005). Noth's further conclusion concerning pan-Israelite identity in the poem has undergone critical evaluation (see Neef, 1995).

The Song of Deborah provides insight into the emerging identity of ten regional participants. It is noteworthy that the regions do not extend south to include Judah. The exclusion of Judah suggests a northern point of view in the poem, rather than the more broad-based pan-Israelite identity as Noth assumed (Fleming, 2012: 64–65). The ten northern regions include Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar, Reuben, Gilead, Dan, Asher, Naphtali, and Meroz (Judg 5:14–18). Some of these regions disappear (Meroz), and others reappear as clans (e.g., Machir, Deut 3:15) or more diffuse areas (e.g., Gilead, Deut 3:15); those remaining eventually become identified as "tribes" (e.g., Ephraim, Benjamin, Zebulun, Issachar, Reuben, Dan, Asher, and Naphtali). There is no evidence in the Song of Deborah that these distinct regional groups are identified as "tribes" or that the concept of "tribe" is even functioning as a form of self-identity. This conclusion is reinforced by the use of the word *šēbeṭ* with the primary meaning of "staff," rather than "tribe":

> From Ephraim they set out into the valley,
> following you, Benjamin, with your kin;
> from Machir marched down the commanders,
> and from Zebulun those bearing the marshal's staff (*bĕšēbeṭ sōpēr*).
> (Judg 5:14)

There appears to be an emerging form of self-identity among the northern groups included in the Song of Deborah. The northern perspective in the poem suggests further that the identification of a collective of smaller social units may have originated in northern tradition. Yet it is also clear that the pan-Israelite vision of the "biblical twelve tribes" is not present in the poem.

The Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49) and the Song of Moses (Deut 33) both include the word *šēbeṭ* meaning "tribe" (Gen 49:16, 28; Deut 33:5), thus providing a point of contrast to the Song of Deborah. The body of the Song of Moses (Deut 33:6–25) contains eulogies for ten separate groups (Reuben, Judah, Levi, Benjamin, Joseph, Gad, Dan, Naphtali, and Asher), now framed with an introduction (33:2–5) and a conclusion (33:26–29) (see Driver, 1903: 385–87). G. von Rad (1966a: 205) identified the introduction and the conclusion as a single body of literature resembling a psalm of praise, now separated to frame the eulogies. The word "tribe" appears at the close of the introduction (33:4–5) where it is employed in conjunction with the themes of Mosaic law, the (future?) leadership of a king in Jeshurun, and the political image of the people conceived as the assembly of Jacob:

> Moses charged us with the law,
> as a possession for the assembly of Jacob.
> There arose a king in Jeshurun,
> when the leaders of the people assembled—
> as the united tribes of Israel (*yaḥad šibṭe yiśrāʾēl*).

Nelson (2002: 389) identified the unit as a redactional link "tying the poem to the body of Deuteronomy," while the reference to "the united tribes of Israel" is a catchphrase prompting the insertion of the blessings at this point. The identification of the ten groups (33:6–25) as the "united tribes of Israel" (33:4–5) introduces the theme of tribal pan-Israelite identity into what was most likely an older version of the Song of Moses, probably written in the eighth century BCE, again from a northern point of view (Sparks, 2003). S. Beyerle (1997: 47–49) argued that the addition of Deut 33:4–5 was as late as the postexilic period linking the themes of land possession and the observance of law with pan-Israelite identity. The inclusion of Deut 33:4–5 reconceptualizes the previously unrelated ten regional groups—which were not described as tribes—into a more unified body, identified as the "united tribes of Israel."

The Blessing of Jacob includes a series of older declarations about Jacob's family members (Gen 49:3–27, esp. vv. 11–21), now framed by a Priestly introduction (49:1–2) and conclusion (49:28–33) from the exilic or postexilic period (C. Levin, 2003, see above). The poem contains two references to "tribes." The Priestly conclusion, "all these are the twelve tribes of Israel (*šibṭê yiśrāʾēl šĕnîm ʿāśār*)" (49:28), reflects pan-Israelite identity of the "biblical twelve tribes" prominent in the exilic and postexilic periods. The other occurrence of "tribe" appears in the list of Jacob's family members (49:3–27), when Dan is described as "one of the tribes of Israel" (*kĕʾaḥad šibṭê yiśrāʾēl*, 49:16). The presence of this motif within the list of family members in Gen 49:3–27 is unexpected, according to Fleming (2012: 90), since the groups are not closely related to each other.

Sparks (2003) concluded that the present form of the twelve-member list in Gen 49:3–27 is likely the result of a history of composition. Tobolowsky (2017: 2–17, 55) agreed, noting that the initial list of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah (49:3–12) is written in the form of direct discourse, while the content tends to follow the events of the narrative in Genesis. The list of Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph, and Benjamin (49:13–21) is composed in third-person discourse and its content is disconnected from the narrative. J.-D. Macchi (1999: 185–250) judged the latter list to be an independent composition perhaps as old as the ninth century BCE; it is made up of brief independent statements lacking familial imagery to Jacob as the father or to each other as brothers, making the description of Dan "as one of the tribes of Israel" an uneasy fit within the larger literary context. Fleming (2012: 86, 90) added that the reference to the "tribes of Israel" in conjunction with royal imagery represents a form of standardization of the individual groups toward a more corporate identity sometime in the monarchic period at the earliest.

The Song of Deborah (Judg 5:1–31), the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:1–29), and the Song of Moses (Deut 33:1–29) represent northern tradition, which indicates varying degrees of tribal identity in the history of the composition. Images of the "biblical twelve tribes" as a form of pan-Israelite identity appear in the latest revisions of the poems. The reference to the "biblical twelve tribes" in the Priestly conclusion to the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:28) was written sometime in the exilic or postexilic period. The description of Dan "as one of the tribes of Israel" in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:16) suggests the same time period.

PROPHETIC CORPUS

Reference to tribes is minimal in the prophetic corpus. The use of *maṭṭeh* as "tribe" appears once in Micah, where it is identified with city residents: "The voice of Yahweh cries to the city . . . 'Hear, O tribe (*maṭṭeh*)!'" (6:9). The Hebrew *šēbeṭ* appears more often, but it too remains limited, appearing in the following texts: Three times "tribes of inheritance" occurs—once in a late text from Isaiah (*šibṭê naḥălāteka̅*, "tribes of your inheritance"; Isa 63:17) and twice in a doublet from Jeremiah (*šibṭê naḥălātô*, "tribes of his inheritance"; Jer 10:16 = 51:19); two times "tribes of Israel" (*šibṭê yiśrā'ēl*) appears—once in Hosea (5:9) and again in Zechariah (9:1); and one time Second Isaiah refers to the "tribes of Jacob" (*šibṭê ya'ăqōb*, Isa 49:6). The limited use of the term "tribe" is surprising given the central role of the motif in the Pentateuch. The references, moreover, appear to be exilic compositions or later. Weingart (2014: 267–87) argued that the reference to the "tribes of Israel" in Hos 5:9 was composed in the closing years of the Northern Kingdom and that it represents a northern view of pan-Israelite identity. But such an interpretation isolates Hos 5:9 as a unique usage within the prophetic corpus, favoring the later composition of the motif in conjunction with the other limited references.

The theme of the "tribes" (*šēbeṭ*) as an expression of pan-Israelite identity emerges most clearly in the prophetic corpus when Ezekiel describes the future allotment of the land after the return from the Babylonian exile (Ezek 37, 45, 47–48). Eleven times (37:19; 45:8; 47:13, 21, 22, 23; 48:1, 19, 23, 29, 31) the book refers to the "tribes" (*šēbeṭ*); six occurrences employ the phrase "tribes of Israel" (*šibṭê yiśrā'ēl*, 37:19; 47:13, 21, 22; 48:19, 29) as a form of pan-Israelite identity. The political separation of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms lingers in the background of the book, when the prophet predicts the unification of the two kingdoms: "Thus says the Lord Yahweh: I am about to take the stick of Joseph (which is in the hand of Ephraim) and the tribes of Israel associated with it; and I will put the stick of Judah upon it, and make them one stick, in order that they may be one in my hand" (37:19). The metaphor of the joined political kingdoms gives way, however, to pan-Israelite identity associated with the biblical twelve tribes, when the prophet envisions a new life in the land after the exile. Ezekiel describes the city workers of Jerusalem upon the return from exile as representing "all the tribes of Israel" (*mikōl šibṭê yiśrā'ēl*, 48:19).

Pan-Israelite identity conceived as the twelve tribes is tied to the shared possession of the land in Ezekiel, which also includes a critique of monarchic rule. The prophet explains: "And my princes shall no longer oppress my people; but they shall let the house of Israel have the land according to their tribes" (*lĕšibṭêhem*, 45:8). Ezekiel clarifies further that the land will be allocated to "the twelve tribes of Israel" (*lišnê 'āśār šibṭê yiśrā'ēl*, 47:13). This is the first and the only reference to the twelve tribes as a form of pan-Israelite identity in the prophetic corpus, suggesting that the exile is the time of innovation in redefining the identity of "all Israel." The prophet provides an idealized

textual map of the land west of the Jordan River, in which the land of the twelve tribes is listed from north to south: Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, and Gad (48:1–29). The central role of Jerusalem within Judah in the map (48:8–22) indicates the southern perspective of Ezekiel.

The references to "tribe" in the prophetic corpus allow for several conclusions concerning the emergence of the biblical twelve tribes as a form of pan-Israelite identity. The theme is limited in the prophetic literature, suggesting that it is not a central form of self-identity during the history of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Ezekiel contains the first sustained use of the twelve tribes as a form of pan-Israelite identity in describing land distribution to the postexilic community. The close relationship between the twelve tribes and land in Ezekiel indicates that the concept of the "tribe" is not anchored in genealogy alone, as Noth assumed, but in combination with geopolitical regions. This supports the conclusion of de Geus (1976: 144–45), who wrote, "tribal names . . . function primarily as territorial indications" (see also Halpern, 1983: 109).

PENTATEUCH

The "tribe" as the source of pan-Israelite identity dominates the Pentateuch, in contrast to its limited use in the prophetic corpus. The Pentateuch also develops the character of the tribes and the nature of tribal unity in far more detail than Ezekiel. The contrast is evident initially in the recognition that the Pentateuch employs both *šēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* to describe the tribal system and pan-Israelite identity. Table 1, indicating the distribution of the terms, reinforces the conclusion of source critics from the nineteenth century that *maṭṭeh* is concentrated in Numbers (ninety-four occurrences), where it functions as the preferred word for "tribe" in Priestly tradition, while *šēbeṭ* is clustered in Deuteronomy (eighteen occurrences). (The number of references is given in parentheses in the table.) Examination of Deuteronomy and Numbers illustrates that the two terms represent distinct conceptions of tribal pan-Israelite identity, depending on whether the emphasis is on geography or genealogy. Deuteronomy identifies "tribe" with the Hebrew word *šēbeṭ;* it lacks the genealogical system of the twelve tribes; and it defines tribes geographically in relationship to land possession without clarifying the social hierarchy that would emerge in the distribution of the land to the individual tribes. The Priestly literature identifies "tribe" with the Hebrew word *maṭṭeh;* it employs the twelve-tribe system; and it emphasizes genealogy to define the social hierarchy among the tribes, without clarifying the distribution of land.

The concept of the tribe in Deuteronomy, as Israel's original form of self-identity, emerges in the events of the exodus and the wilderness wandering (de Geus, 1976: 108). The focus on premonarchic origins throughout the book's complex history of composition allows the author(s) to construct pan-Israelite identity based on the tribes rather than on the unity of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. In its present form, the book opens with the address of Moses to one unified people identified as "all Israel" (*kōl-yiśrā'ēl*): "These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel" (Deut 1:1; see also 5:1, 11:6, 13:12, 18:6, 21:21, 29:9, 31:7, 34:12, etc.). Pan-Israelite identity is reinforced in the description of one collective "people," who are distinct from other nations also conceived as "people": "For you are a people (*'am*) holy to Yahweh your God; Yahweh your God has chosen you out of all the peoples (*hā'ammîm*) on earth to be his people (*'am*)" (14:2; see also 2:4, 16; 3:28; 4:6, 10; 5:28; 9:6, 12, 26, 29, etc.). The motif of the

Table 1. Distribution of the two Hebrew terms for "tribe" in the Pentateuch

Tribe (šēbeṭ)	*Tribe (maṭṭeh)*
GENESIS (2)	GENESIS (0)
Blessing of Jacob: 49:16, 28	
EXODUS (3)	EXODUS (5)
Moses and altar: 24:4	
Aaron's breastplate: 28:21, 39:14	Builders of tabernacle: 31:1, 6; 35:30–34 (2); 38:22
LEVITICUS (0)	LEVITICUS (1)
	Blasphemous son: 24:11
NUMBERS (5)	NUMBERS (94)
	Tribal leaders 1:4, 16
	First census: 1:17–46 (12)
	Levites separated: 1:47, 49
	Camp arrangement: 2:1–34 (8)
Protection holiness: 4:18	
	Tabernacle offerings: 7:2, 12
	Order of march: 10:15, 19, 23, 26
	Spies: 13:2–15 (14)
	Aaron's staff: 17:17
Levites serve priests: 18:2	Levites serve priests: 18:2
Balaam: 24:2	
	Second census: 26:1–26 (9)
	Vows: 30:2 (Eng. 30:1)
	Midianite war: 31:4 (3), 5, 6
Half-tribe of Manasseh: 32:33	Land eastern tribes: 32:1–42 (7)
	Land eastern tribes: 32:28
	Land division: 33:54
	Leaders/land division: 34:16–29 (11)
Daughters of Zelophehad: 36:3	Daughters of Zelophehad: 36:1–12 (13)
DEUTERONOMY (18)	DEUTERONOMY (0)
Historical summary: 1:13, 15 (2), 1:23	
Half-tribe of Manasseh: 3:13	
Decalogue at Horeb: 5:23	
Levites carry ark/no land: 10:8	
Central worship: 12:5, 14	
Judges: 16:18	
Levites no land: 18:1	
Levites tithe: 18:5	
Half-tribe of Manasseh: 29:7	
Assembly: 29:9, 17, 20	
Assembly: 31:28	
Song of Moses: 33:5	

Note: The number of references more than one is shown in parentheses.

"sons of Israel" (*benê yiśrāʾēl*), who are "brothers" (*ʾaḥ*), infuses kinship imagery further into the collective, as when Moses states, "All your troops shall cross over before your brothers (*ʾăḥêkem*), the sons of Israel (*benê yiśrāʾēl*)" (3:18; see also 1:3; 4:44–46; 28:69 [Eng. 29:1]; 31:19, 22, 23; 32:51–52; 34:8, 9). The motif of the ancestors (*ʾābōt*) adds generational depth of parent and child to the kinship imagery of the sons of Israel. Moses reminds his audience that "Yahweh is the God of [their] ancestors" (4:1), meaning their parents, who lost the promise of land through disobedience (1:35): "Not one of these—not one of this evil generation—shall see the good land that I swore to give to your ancestors." The kinship imagery is given further depth in subsequent redactions when the exodus generation is reinterpreted as the eponymous ancestors Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (1:8; 6:10; 9:5, 27; 29:13; 30:20; 34:4; see Römer, 1990). Pan-Israelite identity in Deuteronomy also rests on the identification of Israel as "tribes" (*šēbeṭ*). The concept of the tribe is primarily geographical, related to the possession of land, without clarifying the distribution of the land to the individual tribes. The close tie between tribes and land possession is underscored in the selection of the Levites to carry the ark (10:8–9) and to minister at the cultic site (18:1–5). In both instances, the separation of the tribe of Levi from the other tribes is described as the loss of land possession: "The Levitical priests, the whole tribe of Levi, shall have no allotment or inheritance within Israel. For Yahweh your God has chosen Levi out of all your tribes, to stand and minister in the name of Yahweh, him and his sons for all time" (18:5; see also 10:9). In Deuteronomy, it is the possession of land that provides social identity among the tribes; it becomes the basis for participation in judicial processes and in communal worship involving "all Israel." Tribal possession of land allows for representatives from each tribe to become judges (1:13–15, 16:18) and leading elders (5:23, 31:28); it also allows for the participation in covenantal assemblies (29:9, 17, 20) and in centralized worship ceremonies (12:5, 14).

Tribal pan-Israelite identity may have arisen in Deuteronomy as early as the late monarchic period; it certainly underwent development in the exilic and postexilic periods through the revisions of the book. The geopolitical references to "the land of Ephraim and Manasseh" and to "all the land of Judah" in the final vision of the land (34:2) indicate the awareness of the political structure of the monarchic period on the part of the author(s), but these terms occur together only once as geographical areas alongside others. As a result, "all Israel" in Deuteronomy is not the unified Northern and Southern Kingdoms as in the prophetic corpus; it is rather a tribal people who share equally in the possession of the land. This is similar to Ezekiel's view of the tribes. Both books employ exclusively the Hebrew word *šēbeṭ* for "tribe"; both books replace the political unity between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms with a tribal understanding of pan-Israelite identity; both books relate tribes to land possession; and both books employ tribal pan-Israelite identity to restrict the role of a monarch. Comparison also highlights differences, especially the absence of social hierarchy in Deuteronomy associated with the distribution of land to the twelve tribes, which is prominent in Ezekiel. The theme of the twelve tribes appears twice in Deuteronomy, in the story of the spies (1:23) and in the list of tribes at Mount Gerizim (27:11–14). But this theme is not integrated into the literary structure of the book, suggesting that the references are late additions perhaps intended to relate Deuteronomy to the twelve-tribe system in Ezekiel and in the Priestly literature.

The Priestly literature represents exilic and postexilic constructions of tribal identity. It contrasts to Deuteronomy by presenting a form of tribal pan-Israelite identity that is based for the most part on genealogy rather than geography. The Priestly literature recounts the origin of Israel through a segmented genealogy of the twelve sons of Jacob, whose hierarchical relationships are determined by birth mothers: Leah is the mother of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; Rachel is the mother of Joseph and Benjamin; Bilhah, Rachel's maid, gives birth to Dan and Naphtali; and Zilpah, Leah's maid, gives birth to Gad and Asher (Gen 35:22–26). The same emphasis on segmented genealogy and on the order of birth is also central to the non-Priestly account of the birth story of the eleven sons of Jacob at Padam-aram (Gen 29:31–30:22) and of the twelfth son, Benjamin, at Bethlehem (Gen 35:18–19), which may represent a post-Priestly insertion into the Jacob cycle (see C. Levin, 2003: 172–74; Tobolowsky, 2017: 93–103; compare Blum, 1984: 111; Weingart, 2014: 242–44). Van Seters (1992: 198–99) clarified the influence of the Greek *Genealogiai* on the authors, in which segmented genealogies are interwoven in narratives to create corporate identity (see also Tobolowsky, 2017: 188–202).

In the Priestly literature, the sons of Jacob eventually evolve into "tribes" in the wilderness; they are identified with the Hebrew word *maṭṭeh* rather than *šēbeṭ*. The legendary events of Israel's origin in the Priestly literature are viewed through the genealogical lens of the twelve sons of Jacob. The list of the twelve sons is recounted in the migration to Egypt (Gen 46:8–25) and again at the outset of the events of the exodus (Exod 1:1–5). The twelve sons of Jacob are identified as "tribes" (*maṭṭeh*) for the first time in the account of the wilderness wandering in the book of Numbers, where the theme becomes central in clarifying a tribal form of pan-Israelite identity based more on genealogy than geography. The genealogical order of the twelve tribes provides the basis for the three census lists in which Reuben is in the initial position as the first-born. These include the selection of leaders to assist in the first census (Num 1:5–15), the account of the first census (1:20–43), and the second census (26:5–65). Judah leads the lists that define social hierarchy. These include the arrangement of the tribes in the camp (2:1–34), the order by which the tribes provide gifts to the tabernacle (7:10–83), and the order of the wilderness march (10:14–16). Despite the different order, the meaning of "tribe" (*maṭṭeh*) remains focused on genealogy. In the census lists, for example, the word "tribe" (*maṭṭeh*) is incorporated into the broader language of genealogy, descent and ancestral house (*bêt ʾābōt*). The requirement for selecting a leader to assist in the census (1:4) is that the person be a member of the tribe (*ʾîš lamaṭṭeh*) and the leader of his ancestral house (*ʾîš rōʾš lĕbêt-ʾăbōtāyw*). The same language is used in the tribal lists focused on social hierarchy. The qualification of the "leaders of Israel" who bring the gifts to the sanctuary (7:2) is that they are "heads of their fathers' house" (*rōʾšê bêt-ʾăbōtām*) and "leaders of the tribes" (*nĕśîʾê hammaṭṭōt*) and that they oversaw the census (*hāʿōmĕdîm ʿal-happĕqūdîm*). Geography appears in the Priestly description of the tribes, but it functions in a secondary role. For example, the twelve spies are sent out to investigate the land (13:2–16), and the boundaries of the land west of the Jordan River are also described (34:1–12). But these descriptions remain general, while the Priestly literature lacks the internal allotment of the land to the twelve tribes described by Ezekiel, preferring instead simply to list the names of the tribal leaders who will assist in the task of allotting the land (34:16–29). The separation of the Levites from the other tribes in the Priestly literature also departs from the restriction of the possession of land in Deuteronomy. In the Priestly literature, the Levites are given pastureland surrounding towns (Num 35); their separation from the other tribes is tied more specifically to cultic functions (18:23–24; 3:11–13, 40–51; 8:16–19).

This overview clarifies contrasting conceptions of pan-Israelite identity in the development of the "tribes" within the Pentateuch, depending on whether the emphasis is on geography or genealogy. Deuteronomy identifies "tribe" with the Hebrew word *šēbeṭ;* it lacks the genealogical system of the twelve tribes; and it defines tribes geographically in relationship to land possession without clarifying social hierarchy through land distribution. The Priestly literature identifies "tribe" with the Hebrew word *maṭṭeh;* it employs the twelve-tribe system; and it emphasizes genealogy over geography in defining the social order of the tribes. The book of Joshua is dependent on both conceptions of the tribes, interweaving the two bodies of literature from the Pentateuch into its unique vision of tribal pan-Israelite identity.

JOSHUA

The theme of the pan-Israelite identity of the tribes is central to the book of Joshua. In contrast to the pentateuchal literature, where Deuteronomy and the Priestly literature focused on distinct aspects of tribal identity, the book of Joshua fashions the pan-Israelite identity of the tribes through a variety of related themes, including the genealogy of the twelve tribes; the joint possession of the land; and centralized communal worship, shared obedience to the law, and the political formation of the tribal league. The references to "tribe" in Joshua also include a mixture of motifs from Deuteronomy and from the Priestly literature, suggesting further the influence of the Pentateuch as a whole in the fashioning of its unique form of tribal pan-Israelite identity. The distribution of the two terms for "tribe" in the book of Joshua are presented in Table 2.

The book of Joshua incorporates the distinct emphases on geography from Deuteronomy and on genealogy from the Priestly literature to develop tribal identity. The Hebrew *šēbeṭ* is distributed throughout the book of Joshua, with twelve occurrences in Josh 1–12 and eighteen in Josh 13–24. The usage is often tied to the possession of the land as in Deuteronomy. This is evident in the concluding summary of the conquest (11:23), the introduction to land distribution (13:7), the demand that seven tribes take possession of the land (18:2, 4), and the closing speech of Joshua reminding the people that the land is an "inheritance for [the] tribes" (23:4). Many instances of the Hebrew word *šēbeṭ* are in the phrase "half-tribe (*šēbeṭ*) of Manasseh" (fourteen occurrences), which again links the word with land possession, especially with regard to the division of land to Manasseh. Once, both terms *šēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* appear together in the description of the half-tribe of Manasseh: "And Moses gave to the half-tribe (*šēbeṭ*) of Manasseh. And it was to the half-tribe (*maṭṭeh*) of Manasseh according to their families" (13:29). The usage in this instance illustrates the distinct emphases of the terms from the Pentateuch, with *šēbeṭ* indicating land possession from Deuteronomy and *maṭṭeh* the genealogy of families from the Priestly literature. But the distinction in meaning also blurs in the larger literary context of Joshua. The term *šēbeṭ,* for example, represents pan-Israelite identity during the crossing of the Jordan River, where the theme of the

Table 2. Distribution of the two Hebrew terms for "tribe" in Joshua

Tribe (šēbeṭ) (30 total)	*Tribe (maṭṭeh) (58 total)*
JOSHUA 1–12 (12)	JOSHUA 1–12 (2)
1:12. Half-tribe of Manasseh	
3:12. Twelve stones each from the tribes of Israel, one for each tribe	
4:2. Twelve men one from each tribe	
4:4. Twelve men one from each tribe, twelve stones number of tribes of Israel	
4:8. Twelve stones number of tribes of Israel	
4:12. Half-tribe of Manasseh	
7:14. Draw near according to tribes (2)	
7:16. Tribe of Judah (2)	7:1. Tribe of Judah
11:23. Land inheritance to tribe	7:18. Tribe of Judah
12:6. Half-tribe of Manasseh	
JOSHUA 13–24 (18)	JOSHUA 13–24 (56)
13:7. Inheritance to tribes; half-tribe of Manasseh (2)	13:15. Tribe of Reuben
13:14. Tribe of Levi	13:24. Tribe of Gad
13:29. Half-tribe of Manasseh	13:29. Half-tribe of Manasseh
13:33. Tribe of Levi	14:1. Heads of the fathers of the tribes
	14:2. Nine and one-half tribes
	14:2. Two and one-half tribes
	14:3. Two and one-half tribes
	14:3. Nine and one-half tribes
	14:4. Two tribes
	15:1. Tribe of Judah
	15:20. Tribe of Judah
	15:21. Tribe of Judah
	16:8. Tribe of Ephraim
	17:1. Tribe of Manasseh
	18:11. Tribe of Benjamin
	18:21. Tribe of Benjamin
18:2. Seven tribes	
18:4. Three men per tribe	
18:7. Half-tribe of Manasseh	19:1. Tribe of Simeon
	19:8. Tribe of Simeon
	19:23. Tribe of Issachar
	19:31. Tribe of Asher
	19:39. Tribe of Naphtali
	19:40. Tribe of Dan
	19:48. Tribe of Dan
	19:51. Tribes of Israel
	20:8. Tribes of Reuben, Gad, Manasseh (3)
21:16. Two of these tribes	Ch. 21. Levitical cities (27)
22:7. Half-tribe of Manasseh	22:1. Half-tribe of Manasseh
22:9. Half-tribe of Manasseh (3)	
22:13. Half-tribe of Manasseh	22:14. All the tribes of Israel
22:15. Half-tribe of Manasseh	
22:21. Half-tribe of Manasseh	
23:4. Inheritance for the tribes	
24:1. Tribes of Israel	

Note: The number of references more than one is shown in parentheses.

twelve stones matches the number of the tribes (3:12; 4:2, 4, 8, 12), thus pointing to genealogy as in the Priestly literature, even while the passage follows Deuteronomy in its focus on the possession of the land (see further Auld, 1998: 69–76).

The Hebrew *maṭṭeh* is concentrated in the second half of the book of Joshua, with fifty-six references in Josh 13–24 and only two in Josh 1–12. The usage follows the Priestly literature with an emphasis on genealogy as the basis for pan-Israelite identity. The description of the tribe of Reuben provides illustration: "Moses gave to the tribe (*lĕmaṭṭeh*) of the sons of Reuben (*bĕnê-rĕ'ûbēn*) according to their families (*lĕmišpĕḥōtām*)" (13:15; see also 13:24, 29; 15:1, 20; 16:8; 18:11, etc.). Here the concept of tribe is associated with kinship and family structure even though the subject matter is the allotment of the land. Genealogy continues in the supervision of the distribution of land by Joshua, where the twelve-tribe system is presupposed throughout Josh 13–24. The author clarifies that two and one-half tribes receive land east of the Jordan River (13:8, 14:3) and nine and one-half on the west side (13:7, 14:2). The two references to *maṭṭeh* in Josh 1–12 also follow the pattern of the Priestly literature in listing tribal affiliation in the genealogy of Achan: "Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah" (7:1, see also 7:17).

The author of Joshua employs the theme of genealogy to underscore the unity of the twelve tribes, while the theme of geographical location creates difference among the tribes. The emphasis on genealogy from the Priestly literature is central throughout Joshua in fashioning unity among the tribes and in creating pan-Israelite identity. During the crossing of the Jordan River, Joshua instructs the Israelites, "Now, take for yourselves twelve men from the tribes of Israel, one man for each tribe" (3:12), who must collect twelve stones according "to the number of the tribes of Israel" (4:5). The identification of the tribes with families and clans during the distribution of the land further underscores the role of genealogy as a unifying factor among the twelve tribes (Josh 13–19). The book of Joshua assumes that the "two and one-half eastern tribes" (13:8) and the "nine-and-one-half western tribes" (13:7) constitute the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity, represented in the twelve stones erected at the Jordan River (4:3). The genealogical relationship of the twelve tribes as the foundation of pan-Israelite identity is so firmly established in the book that it never emerges as a topic for detailed clarification beyond the repeated reference to the twelve tribes as representing "all Israel" (e.g., 3:7, 17; 4:14; 8:33). Only at the end of the book does Joshua pause to make the genealogical unity of the twelve tribes explicit when he explains to the people that their ancestor Abraham was taken from across the River, that his seed was multiplied giving birth to Isaac, and that Isaac gave birth to Jacob (24:2–4).

The emphasis on geography from Deuteronomy introduces difference among the twelve tribes in the book of Joshua. The focus on the conquest of the land as an extension of the exodus and the wilderness journey allows the author of Joshua to follow the model of Deuteronomy, in which land possession creates a decentralized form of tribal pan-Israelite identity. But Joshua also goes beyond Deuteronomy. The detailed account of the distribution of land in Joshua introduces difference among the twelve tribes that is not developed in Deuteronomy. Geography as an indicator of difference is most evident from the function of the Jordan River in Joshua (Jobling, 1986; Havrelock, 2011; Ballhorn, 2011). This is apparent in the opening chapter when the two and one-half tribes east of the Jordan River are singled out in the initial speech of Joshua as separate from the western tribes because of their location (1:12–15). The ability of the eastern tribes to challenge Joshua (1:16–18), even while separated from the western tribes, introduces ambiguity in their role within the book, which comes to a head in the dispute over the altar constructed across the Jordan River (Josh 22). The difference among the tribes is accentuated further in the distribution of the land west of the Jordan to each tribe, which is absent altogether from Deuteronomy. Throughout the process of allotment, distinct locations signal difference among the western tribes. Judah and Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) receive their land at Gilgal (14:1–17:6), before Joshua distributes the additional land to the remaining seven tribes at Shiloh (18:1–19:48). At Gilgal, the northern territory of the sons of Joseph contrasts to the southern territory of the tribe of Judah, while at Shiloh the territory of the seven remaining tribes relates them in distinct ways as frontier regions to the more centrally located sons of Joseph and tribe of Judah.

The dependence of Joshua on an emerging form of the Pentateuch places its conception of the biblical twelve tribes no earlier than the exile and more likely in the postexilic period, when tribal identity was also developed in the books of Ezekiel, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah. Comparison clarifies the unique concept of the twelve tribes in Joshua. Many aspects of tribal identity in Joshua mirror those in Ezekiel. Both books describe the allotment of the land within the framework of Deuteronomy and the Priestly literature. Ezekiel uses only the word *šēbeṭ* for "tribe," defining it in relationship to land possession as in Deuteronomy (e.g., 37:19; 45:8; 47:13, 21–23; 48:1, 18, 23, 29, 31). But Ezekiel also employs the concept of the twelve tribes as in the Priestly literature, indicating the social hierarchy of the tribes through the distribution of the land (47:13). The two books contrast in orientation, however, with the distribution of the land in Ezekiel concentrated on Jerusalem in Judah, as compared with the northern orientation of Joshua on Ebal/Gerizim and Shechem in Manasseh. The books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah also refer to the twelve-tribe system, but they contrast even more to the book of Joshua. Chronicles emphasizes tribal pan-Israelite identity, especially in the opening genealogy (1 Chr 2:1–2; see Weingart, 2014: 99–154). But, as noted by G. N. Knoppers (2004a: 285), the twelve tribes are never really established in the broader genealogy of 1 Chr 1–9. The same ambivalence is evident throughout the book. Auld (1998: 115–16) noted that the book of Chronicles is "studiously uninterested over the number twelve." E. Ben Zvi (forthcoming) added that the concept of the twelve tribes is never explicitly advanced in Chronicles. Tribal identity is concentrated in the stories that underscore the "all Israelite" support for the king (1 Chr 27; 2 Chr 12:24–38) and for the Jerusalem temple (2 Chr 6). The result, according to Ben Zvi, is that Chronicles actually destabilizes the concept of the twelve tribes, because the focus on David, Jerusalem, and Judah conflicts with the vision of pan-Israelite identity. Ezra-Nehemiah moves even farther away from the vision of Israel in Joshua as the unified twelve tribes. The description of sacrifice as including "twelve male goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel" (Ezra 3:2) indicates that the author or authors of Ezra-Nehemiah are aware of tribal pan-Israelite identity. But the concept of the twelve tribes as a form of pan-Israelite identity is rejected in favor of the narrow definition of "Israel" as including members of only Judah and Benjamin (e.g., Ezra 4:1, 10:9), who settled in Yehud, creating the concept of Judean identity (Neh 11). All others living in the region are identified as adversaries (Neh 2:10). Joshua, by contrast, advances a northern perspective of tribal pan-Israelite identity, which envisions the twelve tribes worshiping together at the central altar on Ebal/Gerizim (8:30–35) and forming a tribal league at Shechem in covenant with Yahweh, the God of Israel (24:1–27).

The Tribal League in the Postexilic Period

The twelve-tribe form of pan-Israelite identity in Joshua raises the question of the aim of the author. Noth (1930: 46–52) provided the most influential interpretation; he compared the organization of the twelve tribes in Joshua to the Greek Delphic league, described as an amphictyony, "league of neighbors." The amphictyony was composed of twelve distinct groups organized around the temple of Apollo in Delphi. The members formed an institutional unity for the care of the central sanctuary. The social obligations of the members extended beyond the sanctuary to include participation in joint festivals, observance of common law, and mutual protection in war (see Aeschines, ii.115; Strabo, 9.3). Leaders among the participating members also resolved conflicts over land through arbitration (Tod, 1913: 72–78, 110). The origin of the Greek amphictyony was likely in the seventh century BCE (Lemche, 1977: 58–59). The league functioned most prominently, however, throughout the Persian period in the wars against Krissa (596–585 BCE) and the Phocians (449–448 BCE), as well as in the expulsion of the Phocians (421 BCE) and in the battle of Chaeronea under the leadership of Philip II of Macedonia (338 BCE).

Noth (1930: 57–65) argued that the organization of the tribes in Joshua was an amphictyonic league based on the Greek model and that it reflected the social structure of Israel during the period of the judges, before the rise of the monarchy. Evidence for a pre-state league was the parliamentary gathering at Shechem in Josh 24 (1930: 68–89). This covenant ceremony originated with the northern house of Joseph under the leadership of Joshua (the Leah tribes), but eventually it branched out to include the southern tribes (the Rachel tribes), resulting in pan-Israelite identity as a twelve-member system (1930: 66–67). The formation of the tribal league accounted for the easy rise of Saul's leadership, resulting eventually in monarchic rule (1930: 62). The amphictyonic league emerged among researchers as a prominent model for the interpretation of tribal Israel. In his study of Deuteronomy, for example, G. von Rad (1947: 130, 143) anchored the early traditions of the book within the sacred league of the amphictyony; H. J. Kraus (1966) explored the cultic setting of the league; and R. Smend (1970: 11; 1971a) clarified the function of holy war within the amphictyonic league. W. F. Albright (1957) accepted a qualified form of the amphictyonic hypothesis. J. Bright (1959) agreed, describing the nature of the tribal league with many of the central features of Noth's amphictyonic hypothesis (e.g., loose coalition of tribes around common religion, assistance in crisis, sacred league, central shrine, and covenantal law). Yet he cautioned that analogies with the Greek amphictyonies should not be pressed too far.

The caution of Bright against linking the twelve tribes too closely with the Greek amphictyonic league signaled the focus for much of the criticism of Noth's hypothesis. G. Fohrer (1966; 1973: 79) stressed the absence of cultural connection between Greek and Italian amphictyonies and tribal Israel (see also Bächli, 1977: 175–80). Social scientific researchers questioned whether tribal Israel could be compared to Greek amphictyonies at all. Mayes (1974: 34–55) highlighted the absence of a single or central sanctuary during the tribal period. N. Gottwald (1979: 884) noted that tribal Israel did not include the same membership commitments as those required in the Greek amphictyony; he also highlighted the problem of accounting for the necessary social structure in premonarchic Israel. De Geus (1976: 156–57) questioned whether an amphictyony could be described as an intermediate state of organization between tribe and monarchy, adding that Noth's view of the *nsi'* as the "speaker" or representative of the tribe at the central cultic site is "untenable." R. de Vaux (1971: 415–36) summarized the central problem, stating that comparison is possible only when the researcher can demonstrate historical and cultural connections, which was not possible between tribal Israel and the later Greek amphictyony. N. P. Lemche (1977: 58–59) reinforced the historical problem, noting that the earliest possible date for the formation of the Greek amphictyony is the eighth or seventh century BCE, well after the premonarchic period of the judges in ancient Israel. The accumulative research led to the rejection of the twelve tribes as representing an amphictyonic league based on the Greek model.

The postexilic date of Joshua requires the reevaluation of the Greek influence on the twelve-tribe system. The focus, however, is not on the social development of the tribes, as Noth argued; it is, rather, on the literary development of the twelve-tribe system within the composition of the book of Joshua, especially given the prominent role of the Greek amphictyony during the Persian period. The many parallels between the portrayal of the tribes in Joshua and the Greek amphictyonic league suggest the author of Joshua modeled the twelve tribes on the Greek system. The book portrays the twelve tribes as a confederation of related groups under the leadership of Joshua. Pan-Israelite identity is firmly fixed on the twelve tribes, which are related by genealogy. The tribes wage war together; they share in the possession of the land by means of the lot; and Joshua functions in the role of the arbitrator of the land, all of which are central features of the Greek amphictyonic league. The tribes represent the ideal form of a decentralized, nonmonarchic society; this ideal provides the guidelines for the distribution of the land in Joshua. Centralized worship on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim at Shechem, led by Levitical priests as cultic representatives of the people, unifies the twelve tribes. Law functions to bind the twelve tribes during the central worship event at Shechem and again during the closing ceremony at Shechem, when the writing of the book of the Torah of God provides the legal framework for the tribal league.

Noth was certainly correct in highlighting the ceremony at Shechem as the key text in his hypothesis of the amphictyonic league; he was also correct in recognizing that the parliamentary gathering at Shechem is northern tradition. The central sanctuary is in the north, and the northern house of Joseph heads the ceremony under the leadership of Joshua (the Leah tribes). The problem with Noth's hypothesis is the dating of the material and the further assumption that the league represented the social and political organization of the tribes in the premonarchic period. The twelve-tribe system never provided the social organization of Israel in any period; it is a literary development that is evident in the exilic period in Ezekiel and continues to be developed in the postexilic period in Joshua. The portrait of the tribal league in Joshua, however, is not simply a literary fiction (compare, for example, Wellhausen, 1996). K. Schmid (2017) has rightly noted that the postexilic provinces of Samaria and Yehud function in the background of the ceremony at Shechem. The tribal league in Joshua represents the northern ideal of pan-Israelite identity for Samaria, Judea, and the surrounding regions, including the diaspora, which the author envisions as an amphictyonic league at Shechem in service to Yahweh, the God of Israel.

GEOGRAPHY AND THE TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

Historical geography has dominated the study of the distribution of land to the tribes. The research has transformed the interpretation of Josh 13–19 by locating many of the place-names, which has allowed for a more precise understanding of the material. As the information has accumulated, researchers also recognized that the literature did not always conform to historical topography. The tension prompted interpreters to expand the emphasis on historical geography as the means for interpreting the tribal borders and the place-names in Josh 13–19. Y. Kaufmann (1985), for example, argued that Josh 13–19 was an ancient text, whose aim was to represent an ideal and utopian vision of the land during the tribal period. Mowinckel (1946) made the same argument, locating Josh 13–19 in the postexilic period. He argued that the emphasis solely on historical geography was too exact and that it did not conform to the more general and ideal presentation of tribal geography, which grew out of the lived experience of the Priestly author writing in the postexilic period. Mowinckel concluded that the description of tribal geography in Josh 13–19 represented the blending of realistic places from tradition with the author's artistic and theoretical vision of the twelve-tribe system. The literature, therefore, was never grounded simply in historical geography but was also shaped by theories about the identity of a greater Israel (1946: 8–9, 22, 34–35).

The interpretation of the geography in Josh 13–19 as a window into the author's conception of the tribal regions has grown in recent research. N. Lissovsky and N. Na'aman (2003: 291–93) cautioned against the overemphasis on recovering the precise contours of modern cartography from ancient texts such as Josh 13–19. Like Mowinckel, they too encouraged a shift in research toward understanding the ancient writer's perception of the geographical world, in which historical sources and literary imagination combined to create the tribal boundary system (2003: 320–21). The central questions for research include how well the author may have known the geographical regions, what sources may have been available to the writer, and how the literary design reveals the purpose of the work (2003: 297). N. Wazana (2013: 1–8) argued further that when the literary study of the geographical texts was placed within the larger context of ancient Near Eastern geographical writing, it became clear that all such texts advance ideological claims about power, borders, and identity. She added that geographical texts like

Josh 13–19 do not easily relate to any particular historical period; they may be drawn from diverse archival materials to shape the author's ideological convictions about the land's parameters and the tribal allocations (2013: 258–62).

The continuing research on ancient geography has provided additional insight into its multiple functions in the ancient world, all of which aid in the interpretation of Josh 13–19. I. Cornelius (1998) explored the ideological function of ancient textual maps to persuade and even to falsify historical geography. E. Isaac (1960, 1962, 1965) examined the function of biblical geography as a form of religious geography, clarifying the ways in which land was made to conform to religious belief in the ancient world (see also the discussion of religious geography in Dozeman, 2017). J. Z. Smith (1987) added insight into the important interaction between geographical place and ritual actions. K. D. Hutchens (1993) applied the insights of Smith to Josh 13–19, illustrating the religious and cultic function of the tribal borders. Kallai (1978, 1981, 1997a) concentrated on composition by investigating ancient scribal practices of geographical writing. M. F. Seleznev (2005) clarified compositional technique further by examining the stylized arrangement of the borders of the tribes as excursions of the land from Gilgal and from Shiloh, rather than as precise representations of historical topography. S. Grosby (1993, 2002) shifted the focus of research from religion to the political and the social function of geography, as a tool to define power and to provide identity between central and peripheral areas. L. D. Hawk (1996) emphasized the role of geography in creating identity. Jobling (1986), D. A. Knight (2002), Havrelock (2011), J. M. Hutton (2009a), Ballhorn (2011), and Y. Levin (2017) have all contributed in clarifying the multiple ideological functions of ancient geography, including the role of the Jordan River in separating the eastern and the western tribes. The growing research prompted Nelson (1997) to conclude that the "function (of geography) in the final shape of the book of Joshua should not be ignored" (193), especially given the prominent role of "mental maps" throughout the book (2). The continuing influence of the geography in Joshua within the history of cartography (e.g., Ruben, 2019), in the concepts of the "holy land" in western thought (Wilken, 1992), and even in the political development of the modern state of Israel (Havrelock, 2013, 2020) reinforces the conclusion of Nelson. I build on this growing body of research, employing the concepts of territory and territoriality to interpret the northern author's strategic organization of the twelve tribes.

Territory and Territoriality

The central geographical theme in Josh 13–24 is the creation of the regions of the twelve tribes, which the author achieves by describing borders and by listing place-names. The identification of the twelve tribal regions is difficult, however, because of the limited description of the borders. The interpretation of the geography of the twelve tribes concentrates on this problem by focusing on the concept of "territory" and the role of borders in their formation. D. Storey (2001: 1) defined territory as "bounded space," by which he meant "a portion of geographic space which is claimed or occupied by a person or group of persons or by an institution." The phrase "bounded space" indicates that the establishment of borders plays a central role in the formation of territory; it is restricted space. W. Connolly (1996) added to the definition through etymology. Territory may derive from the Latin *terra,* meaning land, as in the use of *territorium* to designate "the land around a town." But it may also be related to the Latin *terrere,* meaning "to frighten, to terrorize," in which case "territory is land occupied by violence" (1996: 144). The two-part definition underscores that territories are not innate to the geographical environment; they are socially constructed and imposed upon terrain. The structure of the book of Joshua provides a literary illustration. The conquest of the royal cities cleared the land of the indigenous population (Josh 1–12), paving the way for the author to create the regions of the twelve tribes (Josh 13–24).

The role of human action in creating "bounded space" has led to the distinction in geographical studies between "territory" and "territoriality," even though the two terms are inextricably related (Whelan, 2014; Delaney, 2005: 1–10). Territory is defined above as bounded or bordered land occupied by a particular group. With this restrictive definition, the study of territory is descriptive; it may include the analysis of topography, the identification of places, and especially the clarification of borders. Territoriality builds on the insight that all territories are human constructions and therefore reflect political and religious influences in how they are formed. R. D. Sack (1986: 1) sharpened the definition, stating that "territoriality is a means of power," which is "socially constructed and depends on who is controlling whom and why" (1986: 4). The distinction between "territory" and "territoriality" provides the two-part framework for exploring the geography of the twelve tribes in the book of Joshua. The section on territory describes the distribution of the borders in Josh 13–19 as a means for identifying the tribal regions. The section on territoriality examines political and religious themes that emerge from the author's strategic organization of the geographical and spatial arrangement of the twelve tribes.

Territory in Joshua

The study of territory as "bounded space" requires the description of the borders in Josh 13–19. The Hebrew word for border is *gĕbûl;* fifty-two of the fifty-nine occurrences in the book appear in the allocation of the tribal land. The occurrences do not provide a clear representation of the tribal borders, however, because *gĕbûl* has two meanings in Joshua; it may refer to a general "region" or to a specific "border" (*HALOT* 171). The two meanings are not the same, nor are they interchangeable (Wazana, 2013: 12). Two instances from Joshua provide illustration. In 15:5, *gĕbûl* indicates the eastern "border" of the tribe of Judah: "And the eastern border (*ûgĕbûl*) is the Salt Sea." In 24:30, by contrast, *gĕbûl* indicates the "region" in which Joshua was buried: "And they buried him in the region (*bigbûl*) of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash." The distinct meanings of *gĕbûl* in the two examples are not interchangeable. The Salt Sea is not the eastern "region" of Judah, nor is Joshua buried on the "border" of his inheritance. The twofold meaning of *gĕbûl* requires the interpreter to distinguish when the author employs the motif to describe the "borders" of a defined tribal allotment from those instances where the author refers to the more general "region" of a tribe without specific borders.

The different meanings of *gĕbûl* introduce the contrast in geographical studies between "border" and "frontier" (Wazana, 2013: 11–57; Russell, 2017: 5–6). J. R. V. Prescott (1965: 30) provides the following definition: "Boundary refers to a line, while frontier refers to a zone." The "border" may be described as a thin line that clearly separates one region from another, creating regulated "territories" on each side. The "frontier" signifies an undefined region that lacks clear borders. The frontier functions at the edge or periphery of a more regulated territory, as a borderland (1965: 33–55). The allocation of land to the twelve tribes differentiates between "territory" and "frontier" in part by whether *gĕbûl* means "border" or "region" and by the degree to which the author provides a clearly defined border. Tribal territories emerge where the author consistently employs *gĕbûl* to produce a consistent border. Tribal frontiers, by contrast, lack clear borders; in these instances, the author may use *gĕbûl* to designate a general region, to define tribal land with place-names, or to employ the rhetorical device of spatial merism ("from [*min*] . . . to [ʿ*ad*]," as in the phrase, "*from* Dan *to* Beersheba"). The aim in the use of spatial merism is to describe the totality of the tribal land (Saebø, 1974; Wazana, 2013: 59–60).

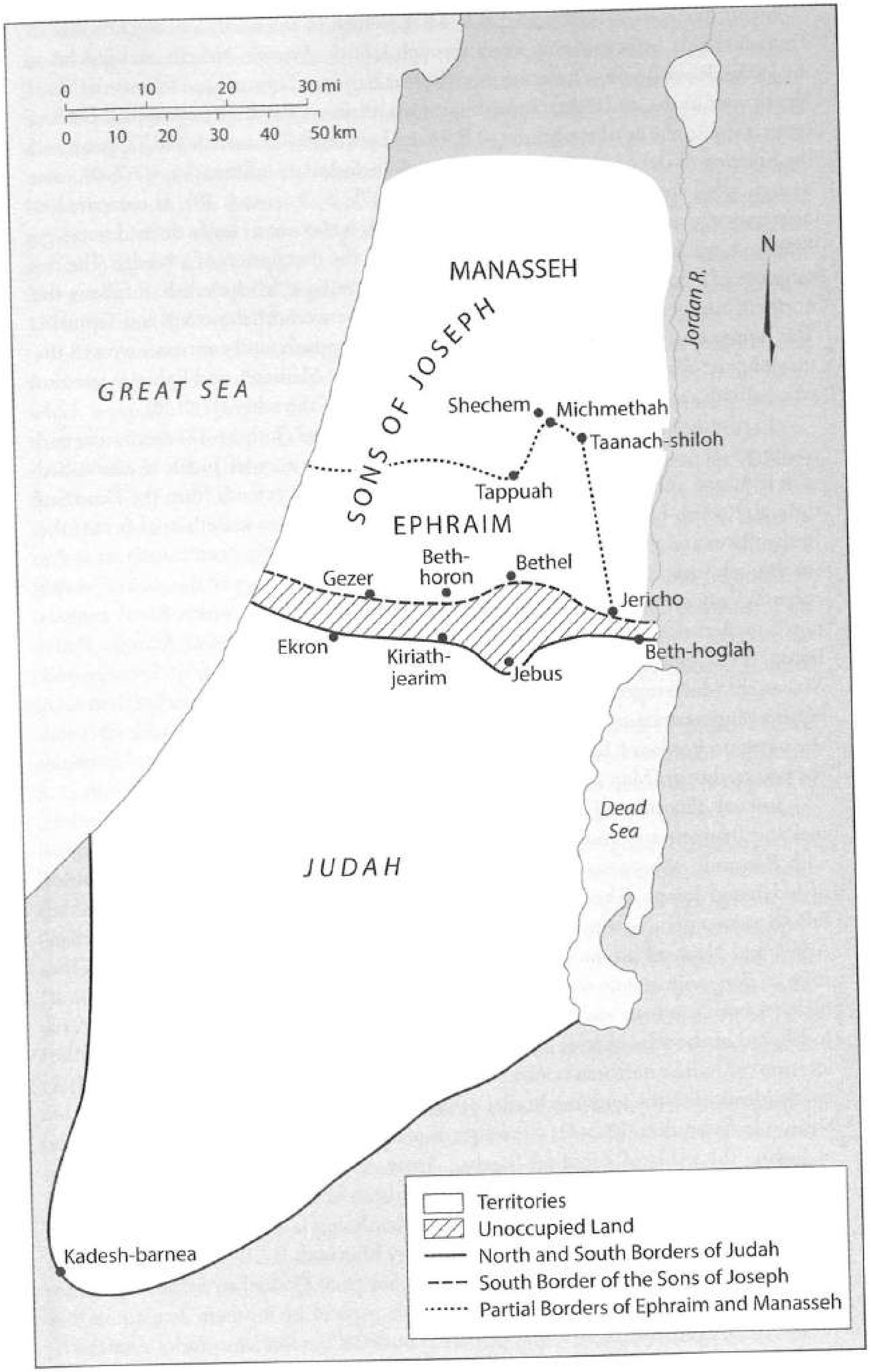
The contrast in the meaning of *gĕbûl* between border and region provides the framework to separate "territories" from "frontiers" in the distribution of tribal land, which is signaled in part by the different locations in the process of allotment. The author provides the geographical landscape of the twelve tribes at three different locations, each of which varies in the identification of borders. The allocation of land by Moses to Reuben, Gad, and half of the tribe of Manasseh east of the Jordan River lacks borders (Josh 13). Joshua's distribution of land at Gilgal to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) includes precise borders. The allocation of land by Joshua at Shiloh to the remaining seven tribes (Josh 18–19) contains minimal and fragmentary borders. The summary of borders in the description of the tribal land begins with the clear borders of Judah (Josh 14–15) and of the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17), before the decreasing role of borders in the remaining western (Josh 18–19) and eastern (Josh 13) tribes is examined.

Joshua's allocation of land at Gilgal to the tribe of Judah (Josh 14–15) and to the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) includes borders. The southern and northern borders of Judah (15:1–11) are clearly described. Seventeen of the eighteen occurrences of *gĕbûl* in this section designate precise "borders" (15:2, 4 [twice], 5 [twice], 6 [twice], 7 [twice], 8 [twice], 9 [twice], 10, 11 [three times]), rather than a more general "region" (15:1). The southern border (15:1–4) includes eleven locations extending east to west from the tip of the Salt Sea south to Kadesh-barnea and continuing on to the sea (i.e., the Great Sea). This border reflects the traditional description of the southern border of the land in Ezek 47:19 and 48:28 and in Num 34:3–5. The northern border of Judah (Josh 15:5b–11) is even more precise; it begins at the Jordan (15:5b), progresses westward through nine locations toward Jebus (15:6–7), and then swings south of Jebus (15:8) before continuing on to the sea through thirteen additional locations that include Kiriath-jearim and Ekron (15:9–11).

The region of the sons of Joseph includes two types of borders. First, the southern border of the sons of Joseph is clearly demarcated (16:1–3). This border is described from east to west: It begins at the Jordan; continues through Jericho, Bethel, Ataroth, Lower Beth-horon, and Gezer; and then ends at the sea. Second, fragmentary internal borders partially identify the regions of Ephraim (16:5b–8) and Manasseh (17:7–9) as the sons of Joseph. The delineation of Ephraim is unclear, in part because *gĕbûl* shifts in meaning between "region" (16:2, 3 [twice], 5a) and "border" (16:5b, 6 [twice], 8). Three disconnected sections of the border emerge: The southern border includes Ataroth-adder, Beth-horon, and the sea (16:5b–6a), following the southern border of the sons of Joseph; the eastern border begins at Michmethah in the north and extends east to Taanath-shiloh, before turning south through Janoah, Ataroth, Naarah, and Jericho at the Jordan River (16:6b–7); the northern border begins at Tappuah and follows the Wadi Kanah west to the sea (16:8a). Ephraim is not a territory; the three fragmentary borders create a gap in the northern border of Ephraim between Michmethah and Tappuah and the isolation of the southern border. Manasseh includes less information (17:7–9), even though *gĕbûl* appears five times as "border" (17:7b, 8, 9 [twice], 10), as compared to only one occurrence as "region" (17:7a). Manasseh is also not a clearly defined territory. Manasseh reaches north to Asher (17:7a) without the description of a border. The description of a border is restricted to the south, beginning at Michmethah; it follows the northern border of Ephraim, even filling in the gap between Michmethah and Tappuah. This border begins at Michmethah, runs south to Tappuah, and continues west to the sea along the Wadi Kanah (17:7b–9). The separation of Manasseh and Ephraim remains porous, with each tribe possessing land in the region of the other (17:9–10).

In summary, the description of the borders at Gilgal (Josh 14–17) creates the two territories of Judah and of the sons of Joseph. The territory of Judah is established with southern and northern borders. The southern border extends from the Dead Sea through Kadesh-barnea to the sea; the northern border begins at Beth-hoglah near the Jordan River and then progresses westward south of Jebus, before continuing on to the sea through such cities as Kiriath-jearim and Ekron. The territory of the sons of Joseph contains only a southern border; it begins at Jericho near the Jordan River, extends north to Bethel, and continues on to the sea through such cities as Ataroth, Beth-horon, and Gezer. Partial and porous borders sketch out the regions of Ephraim and Manasseh, which together make up the territory of the sons of Joseph, rather than each representing separate territories. Finally, the southern border of the sons of Joseph and the northern border of Judah run parallel, leaving a strip of land unoccupied between the two territories. Map 1 illustrates the territories of Judah and the sons of Joseph.

Joshua's allocation of land to the remaining seven tribes at Shiloh contains minimal and fragmentary borders (Josh 18–19). The order of the tribal allotments begins with Benjamin, whose area is located in the unoccupied area between the territories of Judah and Joseph. The allocation of land to the remaining tribes progresses in the following manner: Simeon is in the southernmost area of Judah; Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali are north of the sons of Joseph; and Dan is west of Judah. The tribe of Benjamin stands out among the group of seven tribes (18:11–20), because it includes both southern and northern borders, which mirror the established borders of Judah and of the sons of Joseph. The southern border (18:15–19) retraces many of the locations of Judah's northern border (15:5b–11), while the northern border (18:12–13) is nearly identical to the southern border of the sons of Joseph (16:1–3). The allotment of Simeon lacks borders (19:2–8); it consists of place-names from the southernmost area of Judah. The tribes of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali are distributed north of the sons of Joseph. Zebulun includes a southern border (19:10–16), marking the northernmost reach of Manasseh. Issachar lacks borders; it is identified by fifteen place-names (19:17–23), some of which are occupied by Manasseh (17:11–13). Asher includes a south-north border along the Mediterranean Sea from Carmel to Sidon, as well as a fragmentary northern border (19:24–31), while parts of its southern area are in the possession of Manasseh (17:11–13). Naphtali is north of Issachar; it includes a southern



Map 1. Territories of Judah and the sons of Joseph

border that progresses east from Heleph to the Jordan, before changing direction westward to Aznoth-tabor (19:33–34). The region of Dan lacks borders; it includes only place-names that extend eastward into the territory of Judah (19:41, 43, 44) to the point where it is adjacent to Benjamin, while also extending north to Joppa (19:46).

Moses's allocation of land to Reuben, Gad, and East Manasseh (Josh 13) lacks borders, with the exception of the Jordan providing a north-south border on the west (13:23). The author does not provide an eastern border, nor are the tribes clearly separated by borders. The eleven occurrences of *gĕbûl* in Josh 13 tend to designate regions, rather than a linear border, while the device of spatial merism dominates in the description of the tribal regions. The result is the general distribution of land without borders. Reuben (13:15–23) extends from the Arnon in the south to Heshbon in the north, and from the wilderness in the east to the Dead Sea in the west. Gad (13:24–28) extends "to Aroer, east of Rabbah" (13:25), while also encompassing land "from Heshbon to Ramath-mizpeh" and "from Mahanaim to the territory of Lidbir" (13:26). East Manasseh (13:29–31) also lacks borders; it includes the general region of Bashan and half of Gilead. Throughout the description of land, the intent of the author is to clarify the general regions of the eastern tribes in proximity to each other.

The borders in Josh 13–19 provide the framework for separating "territories" from "frontiers" in the distribution of tribal land. Joshua's allocation of land at Gilgal to Judah and to the sons of Joseph creates the two central territories of the twelve tribes. The most clearly defined borders in Josh 13–19 are concentrated in the descriptions of Judah and Joseph, especially where they come into close proximity in the central area west of the Jordan. This area contains four detailed borders: the northern border of Judah (15:5b–11), the southern border of the sons of Joseph (16:1–3), and the southern (18:15–19) and northern (18:12–13) borders of Benjamin, which simply repeat and reinforce the borders of Judah and Joseph. Noth (1971b: 87) rightly concluded that the focus of the author is on this region. The repetition of the same borders in the description of Benjamin, after the territories of Judah and Joseph were already established, suggests that Benjamin is not a territory but the frontier zone between the two central territories of Judah and Joseph. Comments by the author support this conclusion, when Benjamin is defined in relationship to Judah and Joseph (18:11). D. Jericke (2020: 248–51) reinforces the conclusion, noting the ambiguity in the use of *gĕbûl* in the description of Benjamin, as well as the tendency of the author to describe the region with general topographical terms, such as "shoulder" (*ketep;* 18:12, 13, 16, 18, 19), "mountain" (*har;* 18:12, 13, 14, 16), and "wilderness" (*midbar;* 18:12), which resist clear location.

The remaining land of the western tribes (Josh 19) and eastern tribes (Josh 13) functions as frontier in relationship to the territories of Judah and Joseph. Judah emerged as the most clearly defined territory in the allocation of land at Gilgal, since it included both northern and southern borders, as compared to the absence of a northern border to the territory of the sons of Joseph. But the distribution of the land to the six tribes qualifies this initial picture. Once the territory of Judah is established with the southern and the northern borders, the author restricts its reach. The land of Simeon, represented only by place-names, turns the southern region of Judah into a frontier. Judah's territory is reduced still further with the allocation of land to Dan, whose cities include six locations in Judah that reach to the western edge of Benjamin. The allocation of land to the northern tribes creates a series of frontier zones in relationship to the territory of Joseph, with a focus on Manasseh. The southern borders of Zebulun and Naphtali may indicate the northern reach of the territory of Joseph. The frontiers of Issachar and Asher are not as clearly separated from the territory of Joseph, with Manasseh already occupying cities in each region, suggesting northern expansion. The tribes of Gad, Reuben, and East Manasseh represent the eastern frontier. These tribes constitute a unique frontier, since they are located across the Jordan River and their land was allocated by Moses, rather than by Joshua.

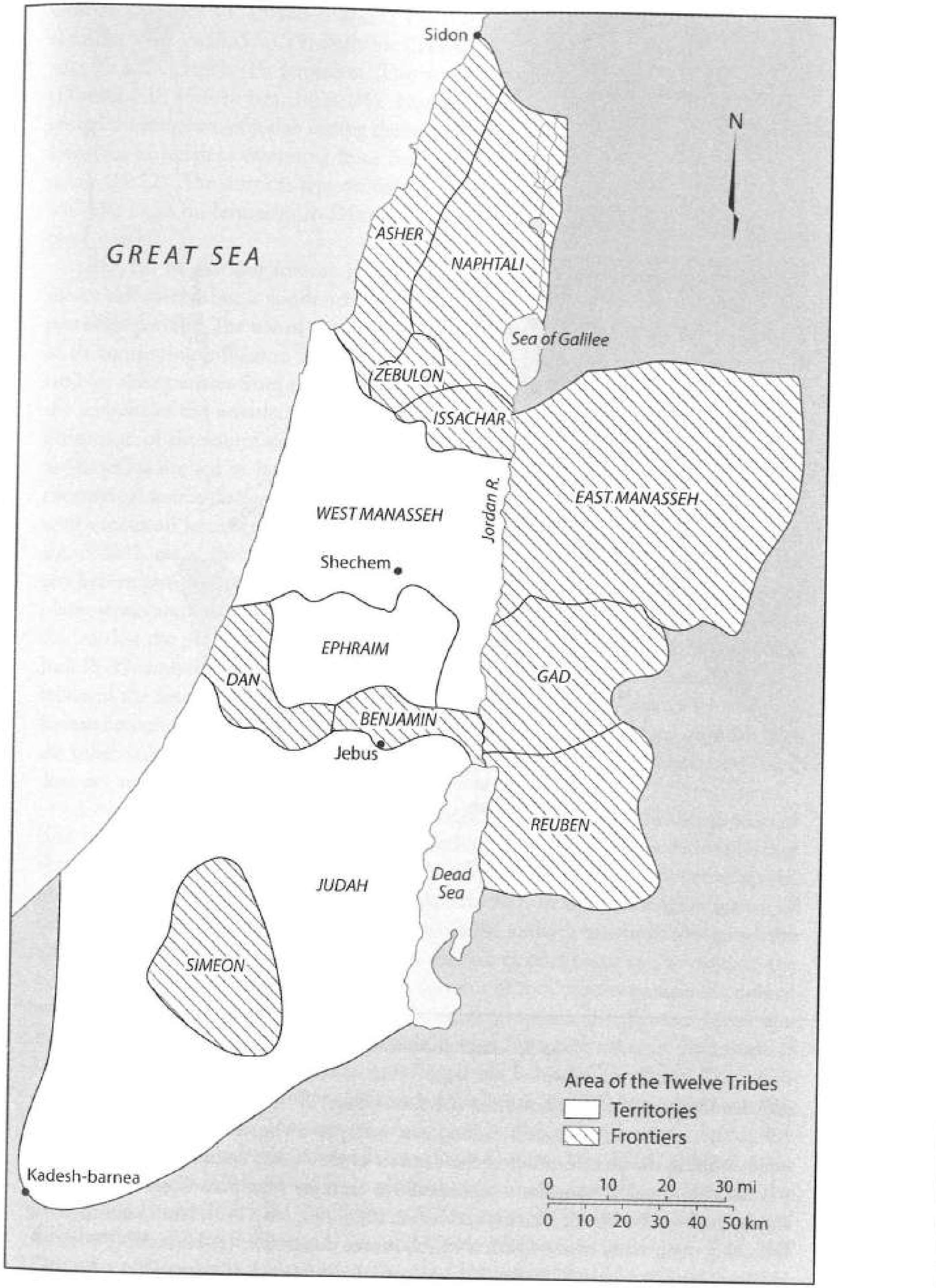
The territories and the frontiers that result from the distribution of land to the twelve tribes are illustrated in Map 2.

Territoriality in Joshua

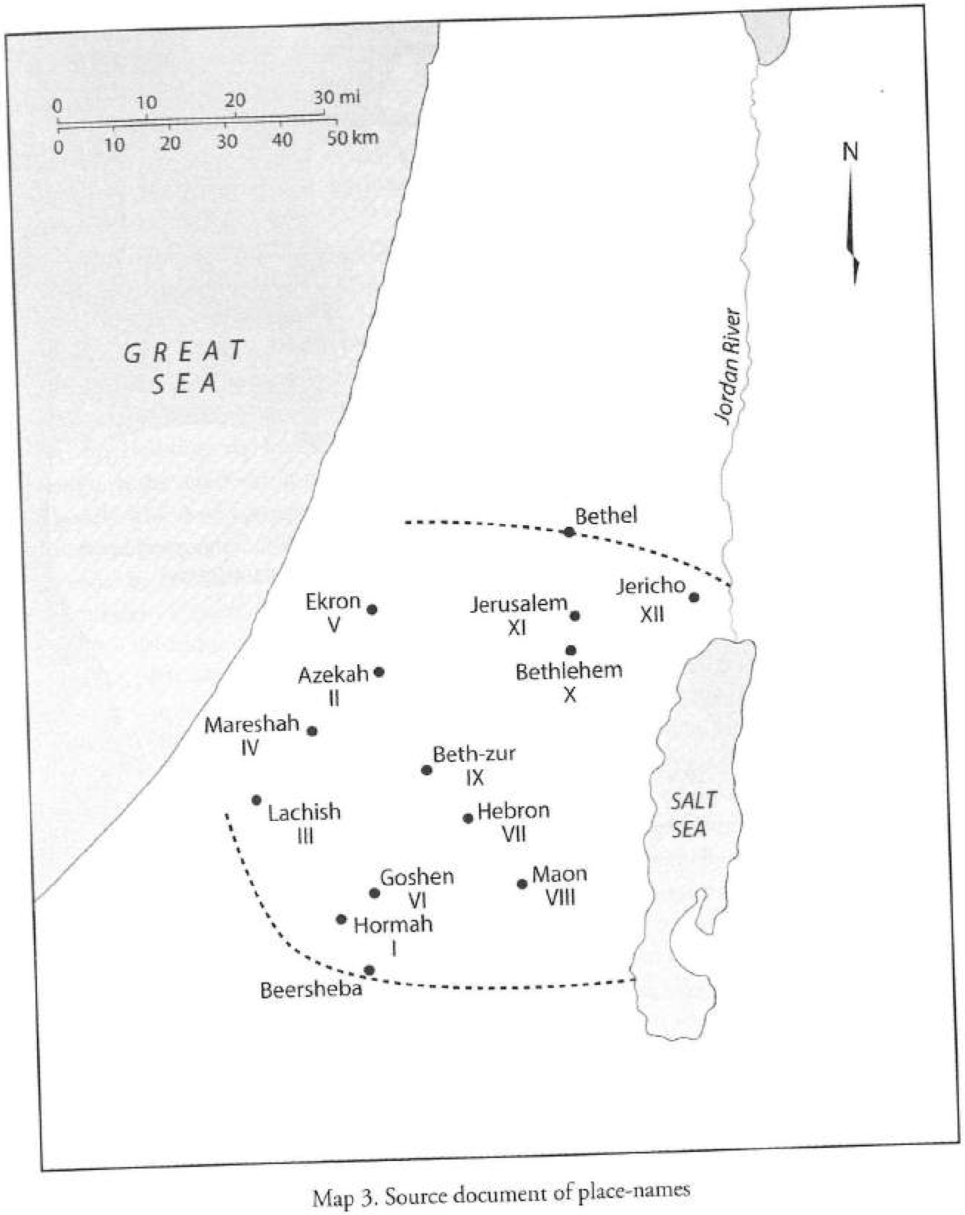
Territoriality focuses on human motivation; it examines the "strategy to affect, influence, and control" geographic space (Sack, 1986: 2). The shift from territory to territoriality builds on the location of places and borders in Joshua, while focusing on the design in the distribution of land to the twelve tribes. The study of territoriality "lies squarely within two geographical traditions," according to Sack, "social geography and historical geography" (1986: 2). Territoriality requires the detail of historical geography in order to raise the social questions of "how people use the land, how they organize themselves in space, and how they give meaning to place" (1986: 2). The integration of historical and social geographies is difficult, however. Historical geography tends to examine particular places within a specific time period; it is "'long' on facts and descriptions, but 'short' on theory" (1986: 2). Social geography, on the other hand, often gravitates too quickly toward abstract models that lack grounding in historical detail. Territoriality relates the two disciplines by tracing change in geography over time. The focus on change allows for the detail of historical geography, while difference between time periods reveals the human motivations that drive social geography. The premise is that geographical landscapes and their meaning change as society changes (1986: 5–27).

The study of territoriality is possible in Joshua because the author incorporated a geographical source document of place-names in creating the land allocation of the twelve tribes. Comparison between the source document and the distribution of tribal land in Josh 13–19 highlights change in landscape over time, allowing for the study of territoriality. A. Alt (1953g) identified the source document from the uneven distribution of the place-names among the twelve tribes (see the commentary to Josh 15). The middle tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17) and the more northern tribes (Josh 19) contained minimal and less organized information on place-names. The tribes of Judah (15:21–62) and Benjamin (18:21–28), by contrast, contained detailed lists of place-names that were organized into districts. These place-names represented a source document, according to Alt, in which Judah and Benjamin were one territory, not two. The appearance of Beth-arabah (15:61, 18:22) and of Kiriath-jearim (15:60, 18:28) in both Judah and Benjamin reinforced the conclusion (1953g: 278). Alt concluded that the source document of place-names represented the kingdom of Judah in the late seventh century BCE, when Josiah penetrated northward to claim the territory of Benjamin as part of the kingdom of Judah.

Alt (1953e: 278–79) concluded that the source document of place-names contained districts. He identified the districts by comparing the differences in the MT and LXX versions of Judah (District of Bethlehem from LXX 15:59; absent in the MT)



Map 2. Land distribution of the twelve tribes



Map 3. Source document of place-names

and the additional information from the descriptions of Benjamin (18:21–28), Simeon (19:2–7), and Dan (19:41–46). Subsequent interpreters agreed in general with Alt, while refining the identification of the districts of the source document. Noth (1971b: 92–100; Map, p. 91) provides a representative example (compare Cross and Wright, 1956; Aharoni, Avi-Yonah, Rainey, and Safrai, 1993: 105; Map 140). Noth identified the following main cities of the districts of the source document: (1) Hormah (District I, 15:21b–32a), (2) Azekah (District II, 15:33b–36a), (3) Lachish (District III, 15:37–41a), (4) Mareshah (District IV, 15:42–44a), (5) Ekron (District V, 15:45, 19:41–46), (6) Goshen (District VI, 15:48b–51a), (7) Hebron (District VII, 15:52–54a), (8) Maon (District VIII, 15:55–57a), (9) Beth-zur (District IX, 15:58–59a), (10) Bethlehem (District X, LXX 15:59), (11) Jerusalem (District XI, 15:60a, 18:25–28), and (12) Jericho (District XII, 15:61b, 62a; 18:21–24). Noth agreed with Alt that the districts represented the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Josiah. The place-names portrayed the kingdom of Judah as extending from Beersheba in the south (15:28) to Bethel in the north (18:22). The districts represented the administrative structure of the kingdom, with the focus on Jerusalem in District XI. Map 3 illustrates the source document of place-names.

The fall of the kingdom of Judah dissolved the geopolitical background of the source document, but it continued to influence visions of the land into the exilic and postexilic periods. The use of the document by the author of Joshua is one indication of its continuing influence. The document may also have provided the vision of the land for the returnees from exile in Ezra-Nehemiah, where its content is reproduced in the account of the resettlement. The province of Yehud is similar to the geographical dimension of the source document (e.g., Neh 11), while the identity of the returnees as "Israel" is limited to Judah and Benjamin (e.g., Ezra 1:5, 4:1; Neh 11:31, 36). Both the original source document and Ezra-Nehemiah share a southern Judean perspective, with a focus on Jerusalem (District XI in Josh 15:60, 18:25–28 and Ezra 1:5, 7, 11; Neh 1:2, 3; 2:11, etc.). Past researchers argued that Josh 13–19 also represented a southern Judean perspective, thus minimizing the change between the source document of place-names and the tribal territories in Joshua. Alt (1953e: 283–88), for example, concluded that the pro-Judean perspective of the source document was incorporated into Josh 13–19, with the aim of idealizing Judah over the other tribes. Most researchers have followed the interpretation of Alt and thus continue to interpret Josh 13–19 as a pro-Judean account of the division of the land with the focus on the primacy of Judah over the other tribes (see the commentary to Josh 15). The study of territoriality, however, does not support Alt's interpretation.

Comparison between the source document of place-names and the distribution of land to the tribes in Joshua highlights geographical changes that provide insight into the point of view of the author. Joshua 13–19 imposes a northern perspective on the pro-Judean source document through the construction of the twelve-tribe system of land distribution. A series of changes underscore the author's intention to rupture the unified territory of Judah and Benjamin in the source document and to displace the central role of Jerusalem (District XI). The concept of the "tribe" separates the unified territory of the source document into the distinct geopolitical regions of Judah and Benjamin. Judah and Benjamin are separated further from each other in the process of land distribution, with Judah's allotment at Gilgal and Benjamin's at Shiloh. The different locations for land distribution underscore that Judah and Benjamin represent distinct geopolitical entities. The creation of the fixed border makes concrete the rupture of the unified territory in the source document; it confirms that Judah and Benjamin are distinct regions. With the border in place, the author also decentralizes Jerusalem by placing it in Benjamin (15:8). Finally, the author reduces the territory of Judah through the allotment of land to Simeon, Dan, and Caleb. The regions of Simeon, Dan, and Caleb do not represent the tradition-historical incorporation of land into the territory of Judah as a means of underscoring its significance and expansion. Rather, these allotments are a literary construction by the author aimed at reducing the significance of Judah. Each allotment restricts the territory of Judah, creating contrast in geography to the source document. The allotment of land to Simeon removes District I (15:21–32) from the territory of Judah; Dan claims part of District IV (15:42–44 and 45–47); and Caleb, part of District VI (15:52–54). The two frontier areas of Dan and Simeon, along with the settlement of Caleb in the region of Hebron, reduce the territory of Judah; it terminates in the south within the area of Beth-zur, mirroring the postexilic province of Yehud (E. Stern, 1973; 1981: 9–21; Aharoni, 1979: 417); and it lacks the region of Benjamin, in contrast to the portrayal of Yehud in Ezra-Nehemiah. The strategy to separate Judah and Benjamin, to reduce the size of Judah, and to place Jerusalem outside of the territory of Judah clarifies that the author of Joshua is neither southern nor pro-Judean. The restriction of the territory of Judah, moreover, contrasts to the porous territory of the sons of Joseph, which includes the two tribal regions of Ephraim and West Manasseh, with northern expansion already under way in the frontier regions of Issachar and Asher.

The geographical changes between the source document and the distribution of tribal land in Josh 13–19 indicate the northern perspective of the author of Joshua, who has created a Samarian vision of the tribal regions, centered in West Manasseh within the territory of the sons of Joseph. In the "Introduction" to *Joshua 1–12* (Dozeman, 2015: 18–34), the identification of the author as Samarian was based in part on the northern location of the central cultic site at the mountains of Ebal/Gerizim (8:30–35) in West Manasseh. The study of territoriality in Josh 13–24 reinforces the same conclusion. The author further advances the northern perspective in the evaluation of the land of Judah and Joseph. The allocation of land to Simeon from Judah is explained with the comment that "the territory of the sons of Judah was too great for them" (19:9). The opposite is stated about the territory of Joseph earlier in the narrative; it is too small for a "great people" (17:14–15). These evaluations drive the design of the distribution of land. Simeon and Dan limit Judah's territory, as does Caleb's possession of the area surrounding Hebron. The porous borders of Issachar and Asher point to northern expansion, already under way with West Manasseh's possession of locations in each region. The identification of the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh also links the eastern frontier with the territory of Joseph, not Judah. The strategy of territoriality points to the northern orientation in the distribution of land to the twelve tribes.

Composition

The composition of Josh 13–24 builds on the research from Josh 1–12, in which Joshua was interpreted as an independent Samarian myth of origin, written in the postexilic period (see Dozeman, 2015: 24–32). The sequence of war (Josh 1–12), followed by the distribution of land to the twelve tribes (Josh 13–24), supports the unity of the book. The author fashioned a two-part story, in which the land was first emptied of kings and royal cities through war (Josh 1–12), so that it might be repopulated with a new form of tribal society that lacks kings (Josh 13–24). J. L. Wright's (2020: 51–91) research on the function of war as a means of creating national identity reinforces the close relationship between the two halves of the book of Joshua. The blending of Deuteronomistic and Priestly literature from the Pentateuch throughout Josh 1–12 aided in placing the composition of Joshua in the postexilic period (e.g., the commission of Joshua, Josh 1; the crossing of the Jordan, Josh 3–5; the assault on Jericho, Josh 6). The same process of blending continues in Josh 13–24 (e.g., the account of war against Sihon and Og, Josh 13; the distribution of land to the eastern tribes, Josh 13; Caleb's claim to land, Josh 14–15; the debate over the eastern altar, Josh 22; and the concluding ceremony at Shechem, Josh 24). The Samarian identity of the author was evident from the prominent role of Mount Ebal as the central cultic site of the ark of the covenant (8:30–35). The northern perspective of the author continues in the distribution of the land to the twelve tribes in Josh 13–24, where the focus remains on the territory of the sons of Joseph, directed especially at the tribe of West Manasseh (Josh 16–17) and the city of Shechem (Josh 24).

The history of composition came into view in Josh 1–12 from the conflict in themes between the completed and the incomplete conquest (see Dozeman, 2015: 31–32, 204–10). The author of Joshua recounted the completed conquest based on the unconditional divine promise of the land, which resulted in rest from war (11:23). The book of Joshua underwent a revision when placed in its present narrative context. Two themes were added: The total conquest was revised to become only partially completed, and the unconditional promise of the land became conditional upon obedience to the law (1:7–9). The revision allowed Joshua to function in its present narrative context between the conditional promise of land in Deuteronomy and the incomplete conquest in Judges. The same tension in themes continues into the distribution of land to the tribes in Josh 13–24. The author of Joshua described the allocation of all the land to the tribes as the fulfillment of the divine promise (21:43–45). The insertion of the themes of the "remaining land" (13:1b–6) and of the "remaining nations" (Josh 23) qualifies the original message of the book with the themes of the conditional promise of land and the incomplete conquest. The revision is identified as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN), based in part on the research of R. Smend (1971b, 1987). Finally, there was evidence of limited late Priestly revision in Josh 1–12. The motifs of the seven priests with seven rams' horns (6:4a, 6b, 8a*b*, 13a) and of the "blast of the ram's horn" (6:5a*a*) during the procession of the ark around Jericho created literary connections to the Jubilee in Lev 25. The late Priestly revision is more prominent in Josh 13–24. The revision includes the insertion of the priest Eleazar in a leadership role alongside of Joshua (e.g., 14:1b, 17:4, 21:1); the addition of lay southern leaders, identified as the "heads of the fathers of the tribes" (14:1; 19:51; 21:1; 22:14, 30); and the reinterpretation of the Levites as possessing land (e.g., 14:4b), which is central to the extended section on the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities (Josh 20–21). The same late Priestly revision inserted Phinehas into the story of the altar east of the Jordan (22:13, 30, 31, 32, 33), and it concluded the book with the burial account of Eleazar (24:33), which is extended even further in the LXX to include Phinehas (LXX 24:33a–b).

The research on the composition of Josh 13–24 throughout the period of modern scholarship has centered on two texts in particular. The distribution of land to the tribes in Josh 13–19 is critical for evaluating the literary unity of Joshua, while the concluding speeches of Joshua in Josh 23–24 are at the center of debates about the appropriate literary context for interpreting the book. These topics are addressed in detail within the individual relevant sections of the "Notes and Comments," but the overview of research here will aid in clarifying my overall approach to the composition of Josh 13–24.

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AND LITERARY UNITY: JOSH 13–19

The history of research on Josh 13–19 has focused on whether the tribal territory was an independent document inserted secondarily into its present literary context in Joshua or an original composition to the book. Interpreters also debate the degree to which the history of composition shaped the present literary design of Josh 13–19, including the number of the tribes and the order of the tribal allotment. In addition, recent redaction-critical study has also turned attention to the inner-biblical relationship between Josh 13–19 and other descriptions of the tribal territories, such as in Num 32–36, Judg 1, Ezek 47–48, 1 Chr 1–9, and Neh 11, focusing in particular on the identification of the author(s) along with the purpose of the arrangement of the tribal territories. The review of research provides background for clarifying the methodology of the present commentary.

The source critics did not regard Josh 13–19 as part of the composition of the book of Joshua; it was rather the conclusion of the Priestly source. Source critics also argued that the literary design of Josh 13–19 was not original but the result of revision. Wellhausen (1996: 35, 50–51, 99–120; 1889: 173–81, 350–51) argued, for example, that the eastern tribes (13:15–33) may have been an addition to the Priestly source; he identified Deuteronomistic literature in the opening introduction (13:1–14) and in the story of Caleb (14:6–15, 15:13–19); and he concluded that the combination of the terms "tribes" and "families" indicated the presence of two separate sources in Josh 19. Most importantly, Wellhausen also concluded that the original order of the distribution of land underwent change. The Priestly source consisted of a single process of land division at Shiloh, in which the introduction to the allotment at Shiloh (18:1) preceded the introduction to the inheritance of Judah and Joseph (14:1–5). Later editors refashioned the Priestly source into the two-part process of land division, in which Judah and the sons of Joseph inherit separately (Josh 14–17) from the remaining tribes at Shiloh (Josh 18–19). Variations of this argument remain prominent in subsequent interpretations of Josh 13–19 to the present time (see Boorer, 2011).

Tradition historians argued that Josh 13–19 was not an original composition within the book of Joshua but a compilation of independent geographical source documents. The most prominent source documents, according to Alt (1953e, 1953f), were the system of the tribal borders and the list of place-names (see "Territoriality in Joshua" above). The system of the tribal borders represented the division of the land west of the Jordan in the premonarchic period. The list of place-names in Judah (15:21–62) and in Benjamin (18:21–28) represented the twelve districts of the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Josiah, when the traditional territories of Judah and Benjamin were combined into one kingdom. The source documents underwent an extensive history of composition independently before they were inserted into the literary context of the book of Joshua. The late insertion of Josh 13–19 encouraged its interpretation in isolation from the larger literary context of the book of Joshua (Noth, 1935; 1971b: 10–14). Historical geography dominated the interpretation of Josh 13–19 among tradition historians throughout the twentieth century. The focus remained on the date and the purpose of the source documents, rather than on the literary function of Josh 13–19 within the context of the book of Joshua (see Noort, 1998a: 173–81).

In the late twentieth century, research shifted from the source documents to the identification of postexilic redactors, who shaped Josh 13–19 through inner-biblical interpretation of related texts in Num 20–21, 26–36; Judg 1; and 1 Chr 1–9 (e.g., Auld, 1980, 1990; Achenbach, 2003: 557–628). Redaction critics continued to interpret the distribution of land in Josh 13–19 as a distinct body of literature that underwent revision and reinterpretation as it was incorporated within the book of Joshua (e.g., de Vos, 2003: 524–38). For example, E. Gass (2019: 31–82) traced the transition of the tribal distribution of land from Numbers to Joshua, with the number of tribal participants expanding from seven to ten; the literary process also refashioned the distribution of land from a single event to the multistaged event in Josh 13–19.

The present commentary builds upon the accumulated research on Josh 13–19, while also departing from it in several ways. I follow the insight of recent redaction-critical studies concerning the inner-biblical relationship between late Priestly literature in Num 26–36, the account of the incomplete conquest in Judg 1, and the distribution of land in Josh 13–19. I also incorporate the research of Alt that Josh 13–19 contains a source document of place-names from Judah (15:21–62) and Benjamin (18:21–28). But I do not interpret the tribal borders as a source document, as argued by Alt and Noth; the borders are the creation of the author of Josh 13–19. The active role of the author leads to several additional departures from past research. I do not interpret Josh 13–19 as a distinct body of literature inserted secondarily into the book of Joshua; nor do I view the distribution of land as an unrelated body of literature from the conquest. The conquest (Josh 1–12) and the distribution of tribal territory (Josh 13–19) are written jointly by the same author. I also depart from past redaction-critical studies that trace the development in the number of the tribes from seven to ten or twelve. The distribution of land to the twelve tribes is original to the composition of Josh 13–19, as is the three-part structure in the process of the allotment: Moses distributes land to the two and one-half eastern tribes across the Jordan River (Josh 13); Joshua distributes land to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) at Gilgal; and Joshua allots the land to the remaining seven tribes at Shiloh (Josh 18–19).

END OF JOSHUA AND THE LITERARY CONTEXT OF THE BOOK: JOSH 23–24

Throughout the modern period, researchers have debated the ending of Joshua (Josh 23–24) and the appropriate literary context for interpreting the book (see Noort, 1998a: 59–91, 198–205; Koopmans, 1990: 7–31). Research has centered on the covenant ceremony in Josh 24, the relationship of the two speeches of Joshua in Josh 23 and 24, and the repetition of the death and burial of Joshua that comes at the conclusion of the book of Joshua (24:29–31) at the outset of the book of Judges (2:6–10).

Wellhausen (1889: 136, 215–19) interpreted the covenant ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24) as the conclusion of the northern E source, linking Joshua with the Pentateuch to form a literary Hexateuch. The E source concluded with the death of Joshua in 24:28–33. The additional death notice of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10 was the introduction to a distinct body of literature about the judges (Judg 2:6–16:31), which progressed to Solomon's construction of the temple (1 Kgs 6:1). Noth (1971b, 1981a, 1981b) changed the literary context for interpreting the ending of Joshua from the Hexateuch to the Deuteronomistic History. He argued that Joshua was composed by the Deuteronomistic Historian, who framed a collection of sagas (Josh 2–9) with the commission of Joshua (Josh 1) and the concluding speech by Joshua (Josh 23), which led directly to the death of Joshua in the book of Judges (2:6–10). The literary design indicated that Joshua was written to be an episode within the larger Deuteronomistic account of the rise and fall of the monarchy. Noth judged the covenant ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24) to be an independent tradition, rather than the conclusion to the E source, thus detaching Joshua from the Pentateuch. The late inclusion of the ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24) severed the original relationship between Joshua and Judges, according to Noth, creating the problem of the double ending (Josh 23 and 24) and the repetition of Joshua's death (Josh 24:28–31, Judg 2:6–10).

The interpretation of Joshua as an episode in the Deuteronomistic History dominated subsequent interpretation (see Noort, 1998a). But researchers also noted that the book of Joshua was less unified in theme than Noth had assumed (Peckham, 1994). The warnings of disobedience and the potential loss of the land in Josh 23, based on the incomplete conquest and the presence of the remaining nations, did not correspond to other texts that assumed the unconditional promise of the land and the completed conquest (e.g., 1:1–6, 11:23, 21:43–45). The conflict in themes suggested multiple authors and a more complex process of composition than Noth's identification of a single Deuteronomistic Historian. R. Smend (1971b) introduced a modification of Noth's Deuteronomistic History hypothesis to account for the conflicting themes in Joshua. He argued that Joshua underwent a two-stage process of composition within the Deuteronomistic History. The original form of Joshua recounted the completed conquest, which concluded with the covenant ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24); this version transitioned from the death of Joshua (24:28–31) to the notice of the change in generations (Judg 2:10). The speech of Joshua in Josh 23 was a later revision, identified as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN); it introduced the theme of the incomplete conquest and the conditional form of covenant. The revision continued into Judges with the account of the incomplete conquest (1:1–2:5) and the additional notice of Joshua's death and burial (2:6–9), which functioned as a resumptive repetition to mark the return to the original storyline of the Deuteronomistic History (2:10ff.). The modification of Smend resulted in the interpretation of the ending of Joshua in a way opposite to that of Noth in nearly all aspects, even though both authors interpreted Joshua within the literary context of the Deuteronomistic History.

Redaction criticism introduced more complex views of the composition, in which multiple redactions at the ending of Joshua changed the literary context of the book. E. Blum (1984: 39–40; 1990: 363–65; 1997; 2006: 97–106; 2018), for example, described a multistaged process of composition, in which the literary context shifted from the Deuteronomistic History to the Hexateuch. Joshua was originally part of the Deuteronomistic History, in which the completed conquest (Josh 21:43–45) continued into the account of the judges (Judg 2:12ff.). An early version of Josh 23 was a revision, in which the conquest was incomplete; this version progressed to the death and burial of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10. The covenant ceremony in Josh 24 was a later postexilic addition

to Joshua, directed to the Pentateuch with the aim of separating Joshua from Judges–Kings to create a literary Hexateuch. In contrast to Blum, T. Römer (2006: 530–35) identified the original ending of Joshua with an early version of Josh 23, in which the conquest was completed (23:9) as divine fulfillment (23:5). This version formed a single composition with Deuteronomy, identified as DtrL and first proposed by N. Lohfink (1981). The revision of Josh 23 introduced the theme of the incomplete conquest and the threat of the remaining nations, relating Deuteronomy–Joshua to the book of Judges. The process indicated that the Deuteronomistic History was not the creation of one author, as Noth assumed, but a multistaged process of composition in which books functioned more independently before being brought together. The covenant ceremony in Josh 24 was the latest addition to the ending of Joshua, according to Römer, aimed at creating yet another literary work, the Hexateuch (see also Frevel, 2013a). U. Becker (2006) represented a different direction in research, identifying the earliest connection between Joshua and Judges as the summary of the completed conquest (Josh 11:23) and the death notice of Joshua in Judges (2:8ff.). For Becker, Josh 24 was part of the process of supplementation in the closing stages of the Hebrew canon, in which the context of Joshua was fashioned within the Enneateuch. The covenant ceremony in the second half of the chapter (vv. 1–2a, 15 [part], 16, 18a, 22, 28) introduced the theme of Yahweh as the true king; it was directed to Abimelech (Judg 9) and to Samuel (e.g., 1 Sam 8, 10). The review of history in the first half of Josh 24 (24:3–13) was a later addition aimed at the ancestors in the Pentateuch. The combination of the two halves of Josh 24 indicated that the covenant ceremony was intended to function as a hinge text within the Enneateuch, linking Genesis–Deuteronomy and Judges–Kings. Joshua 23 was a latter addition to provide an introduction to Josh 24. The LXX demonstrated the ongoing process of "end-redaction," according to Becker, by the way in which it linked Joshua even more closely to Judges–Kings.

The present commentary builds upon the accumulated research on the composition of the ending of the book of Joshua and on the important role of literary context for interpretation. The conclusion of Joshua is not a unified literary work. Joshua 23 and 24 are distinct compositions, as has been recognized throughout the modern era. I follow the interpretation of Wellhausen and the later version of the argument by Smend that Josh 24 is the original ending of the book and Josh 23 is a later addition. The commentary departs from both interpreters, however, in the evaluation of the literary context of Joshua. Joshua 24 is not the ending of the Hexateuchal Priestly source, as Wellhausen assumed; nor was Josh 24 composed as an episode within the Deuteronomistic History, as Smend argued, in which the death notice of Joshua (24:28–31) provided transition to the book of Judges. Rather, the absence of intergenerational transition in the death notice of Joshua (MT 24:28–31) signals the ending of the independent book of Joshua.

I follow the insight of redaction critics that the revisions to Joshua introduce new themes within the book that are also intended to change the book's literary context. The change in context, however, is not the transition of Joshua from one large literary complex to another, as argued in different ways by Blum, Römer, and Becker; rather, it is the placement of the once independent book into its present context between Deuteronomy and Judges. I follow the insight of Römer that books within the Deuteronomistic History functioned more independently before being brought together. I depart from his identification of Deuteronomy and Joshua (DtrL) as the original composition, however. I interpret Joshua as an independent book. The placement of Joshua into its present literary context between Deuteronomy and Judges accompanied the internal revision of the book from the completed to the incomplete conquest, identified by Smend as the DtrN redaction. The death notices of Moses (Josh 1:1a) and Joshua (Judg 1:1a) further secure the context of the book (see the "Introduction" in *Joshua 1–12* [Dozeman, 2015]). The placement of Joshua into its present narrative context represents a pro-Judean revision. The revision subordinates the central event in Joshua of the ark's procession to the northern site of Ebal/Gerizim to a preliminary episode within the larger story of the ark's procession to the Jerusalem temple in Judah (e.g., Samuel and Kings). The subordination continues into the LXX when the book of Joshua is even more closely linked with Judges (see the "Comments" to Josh 24). The insertion of the once independent book of Joshua between Deuteronomy and Judges results in the literary problem in which Joshua dies twice (Josh 24:28–31, Judg 2:6–10) and is reported to be dead yet a third time (Judg 1:1a) in a narrative that is intended to be read sequentially in the present form of the MT (see the "Composition" to Josh 24).

Textual Criticism

The history of the composition of Joshua is extended into the Hebrew and Greek versions, which has influenced my approach to textual criticism in the present commentary. I summarized the history of textual criticism on Joshua in the "Introduction" to *Joshua 1–12* (Dozeman, 2015). That summary highlighted the important role of the MT, the LXX, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in the textual criticism of the literature. Many of the same issues continue into Josh 13–24, with the Dead Sea Scrolls playing a minimal role (e.g., 4Q48 [4QJoshb]; Josh 17:1–5, 11–15).

The traditional approach to the textual criticism of Joshua is aimed at recovering the original text or "Ur-text" as a starting point for determining the priority of the Hebrew or Greek versions, as well as accounting for literary problems in the distinct versions that may have arisen from scribal errors (e.g., Margolis, 1931–1938; Dillmann, 1886; Woudstra, 1981). The MT of Josh 13:1–7, 8–14 provides an example: The two sections are linked with the prepositional phrase *'immô*, "with him," in 13:8: "*With him* the Reubenites and the Gadites took their inheritance." The antecedent is unclear, and its function in the MT remains unexplained. R. Nelson (1997: 169) has argued that the MT is likely the result of textual corruption through haplography, perhaps by homoioteleuton. The LXX lacks the problem; it provides a more detailed text, which separates 13:1–7 from 13:8–14 with an introduction: "To the two tribes and the half-tribe of Manasse, to Rouben and to Gad." Auld (1998: 20–21) expressed the conclusion of many in favoring the LXX as reflecting the more original version (see also Barthélemy, 1982: 28–29). Another example is the opening phrase in the MT of Josh 14:3, "for Moses gave the inheritance of the two and one-half tribes," which is absent in the LXX. In this case interpreters judge the absence of the clause in the Greek version to be the result of haplography from its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The differences between the versions also suggest ideological revision in Josh 13–24, which blends textual and literary criticisms, as was also the case in Josh 1–12. The evidence of ideological revision between the Hebrew and Greek versions of Josh 13–24 may be separated into two broad categories: One is the evaluation of the tribes, characters, or place-names, and the other is the geographical description of the tribal system. For example, the MT and the LXX characterize Joshua and Moses (14:1–5) and Caleb (14:6–15, 15:13–19) differently. They also provide contrasting evaluations of the tribe of Dan (19:40–48), different endings to the book (24:28–33), and distinct evaluations of the cities of refuge (20:1–9). The contrasts in the geographical detail begin immediately with the description of the remaining land (13:1b–6). The territory of Judah (Josh 15) also diverges significantly in the number of place-names in the MT (112), the Codex Vaticanus (LXXB, 124), and the Codex Alexandrinus (LXXA, 123). The geographical differences in 15:21–62 even exceed the contrast between the Hebrew and Greek versions, prompting the Rahlfs edition of the LXX to print the Greek translations in the LXXB and LXXA versions alongside each other without any attempt at reconstructing an original text. The contrasts in geography continue throughout the description of the tribal territory, at times suggesting textual corruption and at other times pointing to revision, which introduces a degree of ambiguity in the critical evaluation of textual differences and of the diachronic relationship of the versions (see Mäkipelto, 2017, 2018; Greenspoon, 2005).

The method of textual criticism in Josh 13–24 follows the same procedure as that in Josh 1–12. The LXX and MT suggest multiple textual versions of the book of Joshua in circulation at the same time during the late Second Temple period. E. Ulrich (1999) characterized this situation as "pluriformity," as opposed to a linear development of the textual tradition assumed in the traditional approach to textual criticism. The interpretation of the text of the MT in the present commentary begins with the assumption of the plurality of the textual traditions. My aim is to state the differences in the textual traditions, rather than seeking to recover an Ur-text either in the *Vorlage* of the LXX or in a more ancient version of the MT of the book of Joshua.

The late additions to the MT indicate editorial changes well into the Hasmonean period. The fluid character of the MT means that it cannot be studied as a fixed text with occasional corruptions, as was often the case in the traditional approach to textual criticism. Rather, I leave open the possibility that additions are intentional changes in the development of the MT and that they provide insight into the perspective of its editors during the Second Temple period at least through the late Hellenistic period. The research also indicates that the translation of the LXX is part of the creative process of the interpretation of the book of Joshua in the Hellenistic period. Differences between the MT and LXX, therefore, in some cases indicate a form of exegesis in the LXX, in which scribes sought to realize an interpretation of the text for their particular audience.

In the present commentary, I provide a translation of the MT along with comparison of the MT and LXX in the "Notes." The *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* based on the Leningrad Codex is the basis for the translation of the MT and the Rahlfs edition of the *Septuaginta* for the LXX. My methodological assumption is that the differences between the MT and the LXX at times go beyond editorial mistakes and that the editors of the MT and the translator(s) of the LXX provide distinct content to the book of Joshua, which may be interpreted through the comparison of the textual versions. The inner-textual development of the MT and the LXX suggests that the late editorial additions to the MT and the creativity of the LXX translator(s) provide a window into the distinct points of view of the two textual traditions, regardless of the diachronic development of the individual differences.

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TRANSLATION

Division of the Land East of the Jordan River

JOSHUA AND THE LAND WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

13 [1]And Joshua was old, advanced in days. And Yahweh said to him, "You are old. You are advanced in days. Yet there remains very much land to dispossess. [2]This is the land that remains:

"All the districts of the Philistines and all of the Geshurites; [3]from the Shihor, which is near Egypt, to the territory of Ekron northward, to the Canaanites it is reckoned, the five governors of the Philistines, those of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron; and the Avvim.

[4]"From the south all the land of the Canaanites, from Mearah, which belongs to the Sidonians, to Aphek, up to the region of the Amorites; [5]and the land of the Gebalites, and all of Lebanon eastward, from Baal-gad below Mount Hermon to Lebo-hamath; [6]all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim. All of the Sidonians I am dispossessing them from before the Israelites, only cause it to fall to the Israelites as an inheritance, as I commanded you.

[7]"Now divide this land into an inheritance for the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh."

MOSES AND THE LAND EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

[8]With him, the Reubenites and the Gadites took their inheritance, which Moses gave to them across the Jordan eastward, as Moses the servant of Yahweh gave them:

[9]From Aroer, which is on the edge of the Wadi Arnon and the city that is in the middle of the Wadi, and all the plain of Medeba to Dibon; [10]and all the cities of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who ruled in Heshbon to the region of the Ammonites;

[11]and Gilead, and the region of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, all of Mount Hermon, and all of Bashan to Salecah; [12]all the kingdom of Og in Bashan, who ruled in Ashtaroth and in Edrei. He was left from the remainder of the Rephaim. And Moses slaughtered them and he dispossessed them. [13]But the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maacathites. And Geshur and Maacath live in the midst of Israel until this day.

[14]Only to the tribe of Levi he did not give an inheritance. The offerings of fire to Yahweh the God of Israel are his inheritance as he spoke to him.

[15]Moses gave to the tribe of Reuben according to their families.

[16]The region to them was from Aroer, which was on the edge of the Wadi Arnon and the city, which was in the middle of the Wadi, and all the plain by Medeba; [17]Heshbon, and all its cities, which were on the plain—Dibon, Bamot-baal, and Bet-baal-meon, [18]Jahaz, Kedemoth, Mephaath, [19]Kiriathaim, Sibmah, and Zereth-shahar on the mountain of the valley, [20]Beth-peor, the shoulder of Pisgah, Beth-jeshimoth, [21]and all the cities of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who ruled in Heshbon, whom Moses slaughtered along with the leaders of Midian—Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, leaders of Sihon who dwelled in the land. [22]And Balaam son of Beor, the diviner, the Israelites killed with the sword among their slain. [23]The border of the Reubenites was the Jordan and its border.

This is the inheritance of the Reubenites according to their families, cities, and homes.

[24]And Moses gave to the tribe of Gad, to the sons of Gad according to their families.

[25]And this was the region to them: Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half of the land of the Ammonites until Aroer, which is before Rabbah, [26]and from Heshbon to Ramath-mizpeh and Betonim, and from Mahanaim to the region of Lidbir, [27]and in the valley of Beth-haram, Beth-nimrah, Succoth, Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, the Jordan, and the region to the end of the Sea of Chinnereth, across the Jordan eastward.

[28]This is the inheritance of the sons of Gad according to their families, cities, and homes.

[29]And Moses gave to the half-tribe of Manasseh. And it was to the half-tribe of Manasseh according to their families. [30]And their region was from Mahanaim, all of Bashan, all of the kingdom of Og of Bashan, and all of Havvoth-jair, which are in Bashan, sixty cities, [31]and half of Gilead, and Ashtaroth and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, to the sons of Machir the son of Manasseh for half of the sons of Machir according to their families.

[32]These are what Moses gave as inheritance on the plains of Moab across the Jordan east of Jericho. [33]But to the tribe of Levi Moses did not give an inheritance. Yahweh, the God of Israel, he is their inheritance as he said to them.

Judah and Caleb

ALLOTMENT OF THE LAND WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

14 [1]These are what the Israelites inherited in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar, the priest, and Joshua son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the Israelites gave to them as an inheritance. [2]By lot was their inheritance as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses to the nine and one-half tribes. [3]For Moses gave the inheritance of the two and one-half tribes across the Jordan. But to the Levites he did not give an inheritance among them. [4]For the sons of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim. But they did not give a share to the Levites in the land, except cities in which to dwell and their pastureland for their cattle and their property.

[5]As Yahweh commanded Moses, thus the Israelites did. They divided the land.

CALEB'S CLAIM TO LAND IN THE TERRITORY OF JUDAH

[6]The sons of Judah approached Joshua at Gilgal. And Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite, said to him, "You know the word that Yahweh spoke to Moses, the man of God, concerning me and you at Kadesh-barnea. [7]Forty years old was I, when Moses the servant of Yahweh sent me from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land. And I returned a word to him as was with my heart. [8]But my brothers, who went up with me, caused the heart of the people to despair. Yet I remained true to Yahweh, my God. [9]And Moses swore on that day saying, 'Certainly the land on which your foot has walked will be an inheritance for you and for your children forever, because you remained true to Yahweh, your God.' [10]Now, indeed, Yahweh has kept me alive as he said these forty-five years, from when Yahweh spoke this word to Moses, while Israel journeyed in the wilderness. And now, indeed, today I am eighty-five years old. [11]Yet I, today, am as strong as on the day Moses sent me. My strength then is like my strength now for war, for going, and for coming. [12]Now give me this hill country, of which Yahweh spoke on that day, because you heard on that day. Although the Anakim are there with great inaccessible cities, perhaps Yahweh is with me and I will dispossess them as Yahweh said."

[13]And Joshua blessed him and gave Hebron to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. [14]Therefore Hebron belonged to Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite, as an inheritance until this day, because he remained true to Yahweh, the God of Israel. [15]The name of Hebron formerly was Kiriath-arba, he was the greatest man among the Anakim. And the land was quiet from war.

Judah

BORDERS OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH

15 [1]The lot for the tribe of Judah according to their families was to the region of Edom, the wilderness of Zin, toward the south, the extreme south. [2]Their southern border was from the end of the Salt Sea, from the inlet that faces toward the south, [3]and it goes out southward to the ascent of Akrabbim, and it crosses over toward Zin, and it ascends southward to Kadesh-barnea, and it crosses Hezron, and it ascends to Addar and turns toward Karka, [4]and it crosses to Azmon and it ascends to the Wadi of Egypt. The limit of the border is the sea. This will be your southern border.

[5]And the eastern border is the Salt Sea until the edge of the Jordan.

And the border to the side of the north is from the inlet of the sea at the edge of the Jordan. [6]And the border ascends toward Beth-hoglah and it crosses from the north to Beth-arabah. And the border ascends to the Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son. [7]And the border ascends toward Debir from the valley of Achor, northward turning toward Gilgal, which is opposite to the ascent of Adummim, south of the Wadi. And the border crosses to the waters of En-shemesh. Its limits will be to En-rogel. [8]And the border crosses the valley of the Son-of-Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusites from the south (that is, Jerusalem). And the border crosses to the top of the mountain, which is before the valley of Hinnom to the west, which is at the end of the valley of the Rephaim to the north. [9]The border changes direction from the top of the mountain to the spring of the waters of Nephtoah and it goes out to the cities of Mount Ephron. The border changes direction to Baalah (that is, Kiriath-jearim). [10]The border turns from Baalah westward to Mount Seir and it crosses to the shoulder of Mount Jearim to the north (that is, Chesalon). And it descends to Beth-shemesh and it crosses to Timnah. [11]The border goes out to the shoulder of Ekron to the north. The border turns toward Shikkeron and it crosses Mount Baalah, and it goes out to Jabneel. And the border ends at the sea.

[12]And the western border is toward the Great Sea and territory.

And this is the border of the sons of Judah all around according to their families.

[13]But to Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, he gave a share of possession in the midst of the sons of Judah, according to the command of Yahweh to Joshua, Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron), Arba was the father of Anak. [14]Caleb dispossessed from there the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai, the sons of Anak. [15]He ascended from there to the inhabitants of Debir (the name of Debir was formerly Kiriath-sepher). [16]And Caleb said, "Whoever slaughters Kiriath-sepher and takes it, I will give to him Achsah, my daughter, for a wife."

[17]And Othniel, son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it. And he gave him Achsah, his daughter, for a wife. [18]And when she entered, she enticed him to request from her father a field. And when she descended from the donkey, Caleb said to her, "What will you have?" [19]And she said, "Give me a blessing, because you gave me the land of the Negeb. Give me pools of water." And he gave to her the upper springs and the lower springs.

DISTRICTS AND TOWNS IN THE TERRITORY OF JUDAH

[20]This is the inheritance of the tribe of Judah according to their families.

[21]The cities of the entire area belonging to the tribe of Judah toward the region of Edom in the south were Kabzeel, Eder, Jagur, [22]Kinah, Dimonah, Adadah, [23]Kedesh, Hazor, Ithnan, [24]Ziph, Telem, Bealoth, [25]Hazor-hadattah, Kerioth-hezron (that is, Hazor), [26]Amam, Shema, Moladah, [27]Hazar-gaddah, Heshmon, Beth-pelet, [28]Hazar-shual, Beersheba, Biziothiah, [29]Baalah, Iim, Ezem, [30]Eltolad, Chesil, Hormah, [31]Ziklag, Madmannah, Sansannah, [32]Lebaoth, Shilhim, Ain, and Rimmon: in all twenty-nine cities with their villages.

[33]And in the lowland, Eshtaol, Zorah, Ashnah, [34]Zanoah, En-gannim, Tappuah, Enam, [35]Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, [36]Shaaraim, Adithaim, Gederah, Gederothaim: fourteen cities and their villages.

[37]Zenan, Hadashah, Migdal-gad, [38]Dilan, Mizpeh, Jokthe-el, [39]Lachish, Bozkath, Eglon, [40]Cabbon, Lahmam, Chitlish, [41]Gederoth, Beth-dagon, Naamah, Makkedah: sixteen cities and their villages.

[42]Libnah, Ether, Ashan, [43]Iphtah, Ashnah, Nezib, [44]Keilah, Achzib, Mareshah: nine cities and their villages.

[45]Ekron, with its daughters and its villages, [46]from Ekron to the sea, and everything that was near Ashdod and its villages. [47]Ashdod, with its daughters and its villages, Gaza, with its daughters and its villages until the Wadi of Egypt, and the Great Sea the border.

[48]And in the hill country, Shamir, Jattir, Socoh, [49]Dannah, Kiriath-sannah (that is, Debir), [50]Anab, Eshtemoh, Anim, [51]Goshen, Holon, and Giloh: eleven cities and their villages.

[52]Arab, Ruman, Eshan, [53]Janim, Beth-tappuah, Aphekah, [54]Humtah, Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron), Zior: nine cities and their villages.

[55]Maon, Carmel, Ziph, Juttah, [56]Jezreel, Jokdeam, Zanoah, [57]Kain, Gibeah, Timnah: ten cities and their villages.

[58]Halhul, Beth-zur, Gedor, [59]Maarath, Beth-anoth, Eltekon: six cities and their villages.

[60]Kiriath-baal (that is, Kiriath-jearim) and Rabbah: two cities and their villages.

[61]And in the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, Secacah, [62]Nibshan, the City of Salt, En-gedi: six cities and their villages.

[63]But the Jebusites, who dwelled in Jerusalem, the people of Judah were unable to dispossess them. And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Judah in Jerusalem until this very day.

Sons of Joseph: Ephraim and Manasseh

SONS OF JOSEPH: BORDERS

16 [1]The lot of the sons of Joseph went out from the Jordan, Jericho, to the waters of Jericho eastward into the wilderness, ascending from Jericho into the hill country of Bethel. [2]And it went out from Bethel to Luz and it crossed to the region of the Archites at Ataroth. [3]And it descended westward to the region of the Japhletites, until the border of lower Beth-horon, until Gezer. And its limit was at the sea.

[4]And the sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, inherited.

TRIBE OF EPHRAIM

[5]This is the region of the sons of Ephraim according to their families. The region of their inheritance was from the east of Ataroth-addar until upper Beth-horon. [6]And the border went out westward toward Michmethath from the north. And the border turns from the east to Taanath-shiloh, and it crosses it from the east toward Janoah. [7]And it descends from Janoah to Ataroth and Naarah. And it touches Jericho and it goes out to the Jordan. [8]From Tappuah the border goes westward to the Wadi Kanah. And its limit is the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Ephraim according to their families, [9]and the cities divided out to the sons of Ephraim within the inheritance of the sons of Manasseh, including all the cities and their villages.

[10]They did not dispossess the Canaanites, who dwelled in Gezer. The Canaanites dwell in the midst of Ephraim until this very day, serving in forced labor.

TRIBE OF MANASSEH

17 [1]The lot was for the tribe of Manasseh, because he was the firstborn of Joseph. To Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, were Gilead and Bashan, because he was a warrior. [2]And the lot was to the remaining sons of Manasseh according to their families: to the sons of Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida. These were the male descendants of Manasseh the son of Joseph according to their families.

[3]To Zelophehad son of Hepher son of Gilead son of Machir son of Manasseh there were no sons, but only daughters. These are the names of his daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. [4]And they came near before Eleazar the priest, Joshua son of Nun, and the leaders saying, "Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance in the midst of our brothers." And he gave to them according to the command of Yahweh an inheritance in the midst of the brothers of their father. [5]The division of Manasseh fell into ten beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which is across the Jordan, [6]because the daughters of Manasseh received an inheritance in the midst of his sons. But the land of Gilead was the possession of the remaining sons of Manasseh.

[7]And the region of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath, which is in front of Shechem. And the border goes out to the south to the inhabitants of En-tappuah. [8]To Manasseh belonged the land of Tappuah, but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to Ephraim. [9]And the border descended to the Wadi Kanah, toward the south to the Wadi. These are cities that belong to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh. But the border of Manasseh was from the north to the Wadi. And its limit was the sea. [10]To the south the land belongs to Ephraim and to the north to Manasseh. The sea was its border. They reach Asher from the north and Issachar from the east.

[11]There belonged to Manasseh in Issachar and in Asher: Beth-shean and its villages; Ibleam and its villages; the inhabitants of Dor and its villages; the inhabitants of En-dor and its villages; the inhabitants of Taanach and its villages; and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its villages, the three of Naphath. [12]And the sons of Manasseh were not able to dispossess these cities. And the Canaanites continued to dwell in this land. [13]And when the Israelites became strong, they put the Canaanites to forced labor. But he did not dispossess him.

SONS OF JOSEPH: EXCLUSION OF CITIES

[14]And the sons of Joseph spoke to Joshua saying, "Why did you give me an inheritance of one lot and one division? But I am a great people, until now Yahweh has blessed me." [15]And Joshua said to them, "If you are a great people, ascend to the forest and clear it for yourself in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim, since the hill country of Ephraim is too narrow for you."

[16]And the sons of Joseph said, "The hill country is not sufficient for us, but iron chariots are among the Canaanites who dwell in the valley land, including those in Beth-shean and its villages and in the valley of Jezreel."

[17]And Joshua said to the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, "You are a great people, possessing great power. There will not be one lot for you, [18]for the hill country will be yours. Though it is forest, you will clear it. And its limit will be your possession, because you will dispossess the Canaanites, even though he possesses an iron chariot and is strong."

Benjamin

LOT AT SHILOH

18 [1]And all the congregation of the Israelites were gathered at Shiloh. And they set up the Tent of Meeting there. And the land was subdued before them.

[2]There remained among the Israelites, who did not receive their inheritance, seven tribes. [3]And Joshua said to the Israelites, "How long will you be lax to enter and to take possession of the land, which Yahweh, the God of your fathers, has given to you? [4]Provide for yourselves three men from each tribe, so that I may send them out. And they will go up and walk through the land. And they will write a description of it with a view toward their inheritance. Then they will come to me. [5]And they will divide it into seven portions. Judah will remain on its territory from the south, and the house of Joseph will remain on their territory from the north. [6]But you will write a description of the land into seven portions. And you will bring it here to me. And I will cast a lot here for you before Yahweh our God. [7]For there is no portion for Levi in your midst, because the priesthood of Yahweh is his inheritance; while Gad, Reuben, and the half-tribe of Manasseh took their inheritance from across the Jordan eastward, which Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave to them."

[8]And the men rose up and they went out. And Joshua commanded those going out to write a description of the land, saying, "Go and walk through the land and write a description of it, and return to me, so that I may cast a lot for you here before Yahweh at Shiloh." [9]And the men went and they crossed the land and they wrote a description in a book according to cities for seven portions. And they returned to Joshua to the camp of Shiloh.

[10]And Joshua cast for them a lot at Shiloh before Yahweh. And Joshua divided there the land for the Israelites according to their portions.

LOT OF BENJAMIN

[11]The lot came up for the tribe of Benjamin according to their families. The border of their lot went out between the sons of Judah and the sons of Joseph.

[12]And the border to them on the north side was from the Jordan. And the border ascended to the shoulder of Jericho from the north. And it ascended into the hill country westward. And its limit was in the wilderness of Beth-aven. [13]And from there the border crosses toward Luz to the shoulder of Luz to the south (that is, Bethel). And the border descends to Ataroth-addar on the highland, which is south of lower Beth-horon.

[14]And the border changes direction and turns toward the western side, south of the highland, opposite of Beth-horon to the south. Its limit is Kiriath-baal (that is, Kiriath-jearim), a city of the sons of Judah. This is the western side.

[15]And the south side is from the edge of Kiriath-jearim and the border goes out to the west. And it goes out to the spring of the waters of Nephtoah. [16]And the border descends to the edge of the mountain that is opposite the valley of the Son-of-Hinnom, which is in the valley of the Rephaim toward the south. And it descends the valley of Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusites to the south, and it descends En-rogel. [17]And it changes direction from the north and it goes to En-shemesh and out to Geliloth,

which is opposite the ascent of Adummim. And it descends to the Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son. [18]And it crosses to the shoulder opposite the Arabah to the north. And it descends toward the Arabah. [19]And the border crosses to the shoulder of Beth-hoglah to the north. And the limit of the border is the northern tongue of the Salt Sea at the southern edge of the Jordan. This is the southern border.

[20]And the Jordan creates its border on the eastern side. This is the inheritance of the sons of Benjamin according to its surrounding borders and its families.

[21]And the cities belonging to the tribe of Benjamin according to their families were: Jericho, Beth-hoglah, Emek-keziz, [22]Beth-arabah, Zemaraim, Bethel, [23]Avvim, Parah, Ophrah, [24]Chephar-ammoni, Ophni, and Geba—twelve cities and their villages.

[25]Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, [26]Mizpeh, Chephirah, Mozah, [27]Rekem, Irpeel, Taralah, [28]Zela, Haeleph, Jebus (that is, Jerusalem), Gibeath, and Kiriath-jearim—fourteen cities and their villages.

Six Remaining Tribes

SOUTHERN FRONTIER: SIMEON

19 [1]The second lot went out to Simeon, to the tribe of Simeon according to its families. And their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the sons of Judah.

[2]And their inheritance was: Beersheba, Sheba, Moladah, [3]Hazar-shual, Balah, Ezem, [4]Eltolad, Bethul, Hormah, [5]Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah, [6]Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuhen—thirteen cities and their villages.

[7]Ain, Rimmon, Ether, and Ashan—four cities and their villages, [8]and all the villages that are around these cities until Baalath-beer, Ramath-negeb.

This is the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon according to their families. [9]From the territory of the tribe of Judah was the inheritance of the sons of Simeon. For the territory of the sons of Judah was too great for them, and the sons of Simeon received an inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.

NORTHERN FRONTIER: ZEBULUN, ISSACHAR, ASHER, NAPHTALI

[10]The third lot went up to the sons of Zebulun according to their families.

And the region of their inheritance was until Sarid. [11]And their border ascends to the west to Maralah and it touches Dabbesheth and the Wadi, which is opposite Jokneam. [12]And it turns from Sarid to the east toward the sunrise to the border of Chisloth-tabor. And it goes out to Daberath and it ascends to Japhia. [13]And from there it crosses to the east toward the sunrise to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin. And it goes out to Rimmon and changes direction toward Neah. [14]And the border turns northward to Hannathon. And its limit is the valley of Iphtah-el, [15]Kattath, Nahalal, Shimron, Idalah, and Bethlehem—twelve cities and their villages.

[16]This is the inheritance of the sons of Zebulun according to their families—these cities and their villages.

[17]To Issachar the fourth lot went out to the sons of Issachar according their families.

[18]And their region was: Jezreel, Chesulloth, Shunem, [19]Hapharaim, Shion, Anaharath, [20]Rabbith, Kishion, Ebez, [21]Remeth, En-gannim, En-haddah, Beth-pazzez. [22]And the area touches Tabor, Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh. And the limit of their region was the Jordan—sixteen cities and their villages.

[23]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Issachar according their families, cities and their villages.

[24]And the fifth lot went out to the tribe of the sons of Asher according to their families.

[25]And their region was: Helkath, Hali, Beten, Achshaph, [26]Allammelech, Amad, and Mishal. And it touches Carmel toward the west and Shihor-libnath. [27]And it turns eastward to Beth-dagon and it touches Zebulun and the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel. And it goes out to Cabul, [28]Ebron, Rehob, Hammon, Kanah until the great Sidon.

[29]And the border turns to Ramah until the fortified city of Tyre. And the border turns to Hosah. And its limit is the sea: Mahaleb, Achzib, [30]Acco, Aphek, and Rehob—twenty-two cities and their villages.

[31]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Asher according to their families, these cities and their villages.

[32]To the sons of Naphtali the sixth lot went out to the sons of Naphtali according to their families.

[33]And their region was: from Heleph, from the oak in Zaanannim, Adami-nekeb, and Jabneel until Lakkum. And its limit was the Jordan. [34]And the border turned to the west to Aznoth-tabor. And it goes out from there to Hukkok and it touches Zebulun from the south. And it touched Asher from the west and Judah of Jordan on the east.

[35]The fortified cities are: Ziddim, Zer, Hammath, Rakkath, Chinnereth, [36]Adamah, Ramah, Hazor, [37]Kedesh, Edrei, En-hazor, [38]Iron, Migdal-el, Horem, Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh—nineteen cities and their villages.

[39]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Naphtali according to their families, cities, and their villages.

WESTERN FRONTIER: DAN

[40]To the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their families the seventh lot went out.

[41]And the region of their inheritance was: Zorah, Eshtaol, Ir-shemesh, [42]Shaalabbin, Aijalon, Ithlah, [43]Elon, Timnah, Ekron, [44]Eltekeh, Gibbethon, Baalath, [45]Jehud, Bene-berak, Gath-rimmon, [46]Me-jarkon, and Rakkon at the border opposite Joppa.

[47]When the inheritance of the sons of Dan went out from them, the sons of Dan went up and fought against Leshem. And they captured it and they slaughtered it with the edge of the sword. And they dispossessed it and dwelled in it. And they called it Leshem-Dan, according to the name of their ancestor, Dan.

[48]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their families.

CONCLUSION OF TRIBAL INHERITANCE

[49]When they had completed inheriting the land according to its regions, the Israelites gave an inheritance among them to Joshua son of Nun. [50]By the command of Yahweh they gave him the city for which he requested, Timnath-serah, in the hill country of Ephraim. And he built the city and he dwelled in it.

[51]These are the inheritances that Eleazar, the priest, Joshua, the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of Israel assigned by lot to the tribes of Israel at Shiloh before Yahweh at the door of the Tent of Meeting.

And they completed dividing the land.

Cities of Refuge and Levitical Cities

CITIES OF REFUGE

20 [1]And Yahweh spoke to Joshua saying, [2]"Speak to the Israelites, saying, 'Give yourselves cities of refuge as I spoke to you by the hand of Moses, [3]so that any killer who strikes a human inadvertently without intention may flee there. [4]And he will flee to one of these cities. And he will stand at the door of the gate of the city. And he will speak in the ears of the elders of that city his words. And they will gather him into the city to themselves. And they will give him a place and he will dwell with them. [5]And if the redeemer of blood is pursuing after him, they will not deliver the killer into his hand, because he struck his neighbor inadvertently, and he did not hate him in the past. [6]And he will dwell in that city until he stands before the congregation for judgment, until the death of the high priest who lives in those days. Then the killer will return and enter his city, to his house, to the city from where he fled.'"

[7]And they sanctified Kedesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the hill country of Judah. [8]And across the Jordan, east of Jericho, then gave Bezer in the wilderness on the plain from the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead from the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan of the tribe of Manasseh.

[9]These are the cities of meeting for all the Israelites and for the resident aliens who reside in their midst. All who struck to death a human inadvertently were able to flee there, so that he might not die by the hand of the redeemer of blood, until he stood before the congregation.

LEVITICAL CITIES

21 [1]The heads of the fathers of the Levites approached Eleazar the priest and Joshua son of Nun and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the Israelites. [2]And they spoke to them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, "Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in and their pastureland for our cattle." [3]And by the command of Yahweh, the Israelites gave the Levites from their inheritance these cities and their pastureland.

[4]The lot went out to the families of the Kohathites. And the Levites who were sons of Aaron, the priest, received thirteen cities by lot from the tribe of Judah, from the tribe of Simeon, and from the tribe of Benjamin. [5]To the remaining families of the Kohathites there were ten cities by lot from the tribe of Ephraim, from the tribe of Dan, and from the half-tribe of Manasseh.

[6]To the Gershonites there were thirteen cities by lot from the families of the tribe of Issachar, from the tribe of Asher, from the tribe of Naphtali, and from the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan.

[7]To the Merarites according to their families there were twelve cities from the tribe of Reuben, from the tribe of Gad, and from the tribe of Zebulun.

[8]And the Israelites gave the Levites these cities and their pasturelands by lot as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses.

[9]And they gave from the tribe of Judah and from the tribe of Simeon these cities, which were called by name. [10]To the sons of Aaron from the families of the Kohathites from the Levites, because to them was the first lot. [11]And they gave to them Kiriath-arba (Arba was the father of Anak), that is Hebron in the hill country of Judah and its surrounding pasturelands. [12]But the fields of the city and its towns they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh into his property. [13]To the sons of Aaron the priest they gave the city of refuge of the killer, Hebron and its pasturelands, Libnah and its pasturelands, [14]Jattir and its pasturelands, Eshtemoa and its pasturelands, [15]Holon and its pasturelands, Debir and its pasturelands, [16]Ain and its pasturelands, Juttah and its pasturelands, Beth-shemesh and its pasturelands, nine cities from these tribes.

[17]And from the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon and its pasturelands, Geba and its pasturelands, [18]Anathoth and its pasturelands, Almon and its pasturelands, four cities.

[19]All the cities of the sons of Aaron the priest were thirteen cities and their pasturelands.

[20]To the families of the sons of Kohath, the remaining Levites from the sons of Kohath, the cities of their allotment were from the tribe of Ephraim. [21]And they gave to them the city of refuge of the killer, Shechem and its pasturelands in the hill country of Ephraim, Gezer and its pasturelands, [22]Kibzaim and its pasturelands, Beth-horon and its pasturelands, four cities.

[23]And from the tribe of Dan, Elteke and its pasturelands, Gibbethon and its pasturelands, [24]Aijalon and its pasturelands, Gath-rimmon and its pasturelands, four cities.

[25]And from the half-tribe of Manasseh, Taanach and its pasturelands, Gath-rimmon and its pasturelands, two cities.

[26]All the cities to the families of the remaining sons of Kohath were ten and their pasturelands.

[27]To the sons of Gershon from the families of the Levites from the half-tribe of Manasseh, the city of refuge of the killer, Golan in Bashan and its pasturelands, Beeshterah and its pasturelands, two cities.

[28]From the tribe of Issachar, Kishion and its pasturelands, Daberath and its pasturelands, [29]Jarmuth and its pasturelands, En-gannim and its pasturelands, four cities.

[30]From the tribe of Asher, Mishal and its pasturelands, Abdon and its pasturelands, [31]Helkath and its pasturelands, Rehob and its pasturelands, four cities.

[32]From the tribe of Naphtali, the city of refuge of the killer, Kedesh in Galilee and its pasturelands, Hammoth-dor and its pasturelands, Kartan and its pasturelands, three cities.

[33]All the cities of the Gershonites according to their families was thirteen cities and their pasturelands.

[34]To the families of the sons of the Merarites of the remaining Levites was given from the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam and its pasturelands, Kartah and its pasturelands, [35]Dimnah and its pasturelands, Nahalal and its pasturelands, four cities.

[36]From the tribe of Reuben, Bezer and its pasturelands, Jahzah and its pasturelands, [37]Kedemoth and its pasturelands, Mephaath and its pasturelands, four cities.

[38]From the tribe of Gad, the city of refuge of the killer, Ramoth in Gilead and its pasturelands, Mahanaim and its pasturelands, [39]Heshbon and its pasturelands, Jazer and its pasturelands, four cities in all.

[40]All the cities for the sons of Merari, according to their remaining families from the families of the Levites, their allotment was twelve cities.

[41]All the cities of the Levites within the property of the Israelites was forty-eight cities and their pasturelands. [42]These cities are each with its pasturelands around it, thus it was with all of these cities.

REST IN THE LAND

[43]And Yahweh gave to Israel all the land that he swore to give to their fathers. And they took possession of it and they dwelled in it. [44]And Yahweh gave them rest all around according to all that he swore to their fathers. And no one from all of their enemies was able to stand before them. And Yahweh gave all of their enemies into their hand. [45]Not a word fell from each good word that Yahweh spoke to the house of Israel. All came to pass.

Eastern and Western Tribes

DEPARTURE OF THE TRIBES

22 [1]Then Joshua called the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, [2]and he said to them, "You observed all that Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you. And you have obeyed my voice in all that I commanded you. [3]You did not abandon your brothers this many days until this day. You kept the charge of the command of Yahweh your God. [4]And now Yahweh your God has given rest to your brothers as he said to them. Now turn and go yourselves to your tents, to the land of your ownership, which Moses the servant of Yahweh gave to you across the Jordan. [5]Only observe carefully to do the commandment and the Torah, which Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you, to love Yahweh your God, to walk in all of his ways, to observe his commandments, to cling to him, and to serve him with all of your heart and with all of your soul."

[6]And Joshua blessed them and he sent them. And they went to their tents.

[7]To the half-tribe of Manasseh, Moses gave in Bashan. But to the other half Joshua gave with their brothers across the Jordan to the west. And also when Joshua sent them to their tents, he blessed them. [8]And he said to them, saying, "With great wealth return to your tents, with very much cattle, silver, gold, copper, iron, and a great amount of clothing. Divide the spoil of your enemies with your bothers."

CONFLICT OVER THE ALTAR

[9]And the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh turned and went from the Israelites from Shiloh, which was in the land of Canaan, to go to the land of Gilead to the land of their ownership, which they came to possess through the mouth of Yahweh by the hand of Moses.

[10]And they entered the region of the Jordan, which was in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by the Jordan, an altar widely visible. [11]And the Israelites heard, saying, "The sons of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have indeed built the altar opposite the land of Canaan in the region of the Jordan on the other side of the Israelites." [12]And the Israelites heard. And all the congregation of the Israelites assembled at Shiloh to go up against them for war.

[13]And the Israelites sent to the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh in the land of Gilead, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, [14]and ten leaders with him, one leader for each house of the father for each tribe of Israel, each a head of their father's house. They belonged to the clans of Israel.

[15]And they came to the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh at Gilead. And they spoke to them, saying, [16]"Thus said the entire congregation of Yahweh, 'What is this sacrilege that you committed against the God of Israel to turn today from following Yahweh? In building an altar for yourselves you rebel this day against Yahweh. [17]Was the sin of Peor not enough for us, from which we have not purified ourselves until this day? And the plague was against the congregation of Yahweh. [18]And now you are turning this day from following Yahweh. And it will happen that if you rebel this day against Yahweh, tomorrow he will be angry with the entire congregation of Israel. [19]Now if the land of your possession is polluted, cross over to the land of Yahweh, where the tabernacle of Yahweh dwells, and seize a possession in our midst. But against Yahweh do not rebel. And against us do not rebel by building for yourselves an altar other than the altar of Yahweh our God. [20]Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit sacrilege against the ban, and wrath was on the entire congregation of Israel? And he did not perish alone in his sin.'"

[21]And the sons of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh answered and they spoke to the heads of the clans of Israel, [22]"El, God, Yahweh! El, God, Yahweh! He knows. And may Israel itself know.

"If in rebellion or in sacrilege against Yahweh, do not save us this day [23]for building for ourselves an altar to turn away from following Yahweh.

"And if to sacrifice on it a burnt offering and a cereal offering, or if to sacrifice on it a well-being offering, may Yahweh, himself, seek us out.

[24]"But most certainly out of concern from the situation we did this, saying, 'Tomorrow your children will say to our children, saying, "What is there between you and Yahweh the God of Israel? [25]Yahweh placed the Jordan as a border between us and you—sons of Reuben and sons of Gad. You have no portion in Yahweh. Your children will cause our children to cease fearing Yahweh."'

[26]"And we said, 'Let us do for ourselves by making an altar not for a whole burnt offering, nor for a sacrifice. [27]But it will be as a witness between us and you, and

between the generations after us to perform the service of Yahweh in his presence with our whole burnt offerings, sacrifices, and well-being offerings. Then your children will not say tomorrow to our children, "You have no portion in Yahweh.""

[28]"And we said, 'If they should say to us and to our descendants tomorrow, then we will say, "Look at the copy of the altar of Yahweh, which our fathers made not for a whole burnt offering, nor for a sacrifice, but it is a witness between us and you."'

[29]"Far be it from us to rebel against Yahweh and to turn this day from following Yahweh by building an altar for a whole burnt offering, for a cereal offering, and for a sacrifice beside the altar of Yahweh our God that is in front of his tabernacle."

[30]And Phinehas, the priest, and the chiefs of the congregation, and the heads of the clans of Israel who were with him heard the words that the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and Manasseh spoke. It was good in their eyes. [31]And Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, said to the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and Manasseh, "This day we know that Yahweh is in our midst, because you have not committed this sacrilege against Yahweh. Now you have rescued the Israelites from the hand of Yahweh."

[32]Then Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, and the chiefs returned from being with the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad from the land of Gilead to the land of Canaan to the Israelites. And they brought back word to them. [33]And the word was good in the eyes of the Israelites. And the Israelites blessed God. And they did not speak of going up against them for war to destroy the land upon which the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad were dwelling.

[34]And the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad called the altar, "for it is a witness between us that Yahweh is the God."

Remaining Nations

REST FROM ENEMIES

23 [1]And many days after Yahweh had given rest to Israel from all of their enemies all around and Joshua was old and advanced in years, [2]Joshua called all of Israel, its elders, its heads, its judges, and its scribes, and he said to them:

JOSHUA AND THE REMAINING NATIONS

"I am old and I am advanced in years. [3]But you have seen all that Yahweh your God did to all these nations before you, for Yahweh your God, he has fought for you. [4]See, I have allocated to you these remaining nations as an inheritance for your tribes; all the nations that I have cut off from the Jordan to the Great Sea toward the setting of the sun. [5]"But Yahweh, your God, he will push them away from before you. And he will dispossess them from before you. And you will take over their land as Yahweh your God spoke to you.

[6]"Be very strong to observe and to do all that is written in the book of the Torah of Moses. Do not turn from it to the right or left. [7]Do not interact with these remaining nations. The name of their gods you will not remember, you will not swear, you will not serve them, and you will not worship them. [8]But to Yahweh your God you will cling as you have done until this day.

ISRAEL AND THE REMAINING NATIONS

[9]"Yahweh has dispossessed from before you great and strong nations. But as for you, no one has stood before you until this day. [10]One person from you pursues a thousand, because Yahweh your God he has fought for you, as he said to you.

[11]"You must carefully guard yourselves to love Yahweh your God. [12]For if you turn and you cling to the rest of these remaining nations, and you worship with them, and you intermarry with them and they with you, [13]then you must know for certain that Yahweh your God will not continue to dispossess these nations from before you. They will be to you a trap, a snare, a thorn in your sides, and pricks in your eyes, until you perish from this good ground that Yahweh your God gave you.

[14]"For certain I am going this day the way of all the earth. You know with all of your heart and with all your soul that not one word has fallen from all the good words that Yahweh your God spoke to you. All of it came to you. A single word did not fall from it. [15]And just as every good word came to you that Yahweh your God spoke to you, thus Yahweh will bring on you every evil word until he has destroyed you from this good ground that Yahweh your God gave to you. [16]When you break the covenant of Yahweh your God that he commanded you and you walk after and serve other gods, and you worship them, the anger of Yahweh will burn against you. And you will be destroyed quickly from the good land that he gave you."

Shechem Assembly

ASSEMBLY AT SHECHEM

24 [1]And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel at Shechem. And he called to the elders of Israel, its heads, its judges, and its scribes. And they stationed themselves before God.

[2]And Joshua said to all the people:

"Thus said Yahweh the God of Israel.

"'Across the River your fathers dwelled from time immemorial—Terah the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor. And they served other gods. [3]I took your father Abraham from across the River and I led him through all the land of Canaan. And I multiplied his seed and I gave him Isaac. [4]And I gave Isaac Jacob and Esau. And I gave Esau the hill country of Seir as his inheritance. But Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt.

[5]"'And I sent Moses and Aaron and I struck Egypt as I did in its midst. And afterward I brought you out. [6]And I brought your fathers out from Egypt and they entered the sea. And the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen to the Red Sea. [7]They cried out to Yahweh and he placed darkness between you and the Egyptians, and he brought the sea upon them and it covered them. And your eyes saw what I did to the Egyptians. And you dwelled in the wilderness for many days.

[8]"'And I brought you to the land of the Amorites who dwelled across the Jordan. And they fought against you. And I gave them into your hand and you dispossessed their land. And I destroyed them from before you. [9]And Balak son of Zippor of Moab rose up and fought against Israel. And he sent and called Balaam son of Beor to curse

you. [10]But I was not willing to listen to Balaam. And he blessed you. Thus I rescued you from his hand.

[11]"'And you crossed the Jordan and you entered Jericho. And the lords of Jericho, the Amorites, Perizzites, Canaanites, Hittites, Girgashites, Hivites, and Jebusites, fought against you. [12]And I sent terror before you. And you drove out from before you the two kings of the Amorites. It was not with your sword or with your bow. [13]And I gave you the land for which you did not labor and cities that you did not build. And you dwelled in them. You are eating vineyards and olive trees that you did not plant.'

[14]"Now fear Yahweh and serve him in integrity and in truth. Remove the gods that your fathers served across the River and in Egypt. Serve Yahweh. [15]If it is evil in your eyes to serve Yahweh, choose for yourselves this day whom you will serve, whether the gods that your fathers served across the River or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell. But, I and my house, we will serve Yahweh."

[16]And the people answered and said, "Far be it from us to forsake Yahweh and to serve other gods. [17]For Yahweh our God is the one who brought us and our fathers up from the land of Egypt from the house of slavery, which he did before our eyes with these great signs. And he guarded over us in all the way in which we walked and among all the peoples in whose midst we passed. [18]And Yahweh drove out from before us all the peoples, the Amorites who dwelled in the land. Surely we will serve Yahweh because he is our God."

[19]And Joshua said to the people, "You are not able to serve Yahweh. For he is a holy God; he is a jealous El. He will not forgive your offenses or your sins. [20]If you forsake Yahweh and serve foreign gods, he will turn and do evil to you. And he will consume you after having done you good."

[21]And the people said to Joshua, "No, Yahweh we will serve."

[22]And Joshua said to the people, "You are witnesses against yourselves that you chose for yourselves Yahweh to serve him."

And they said, "We are witnesses."

[23]"Now, turn away from the foreign gods that are among you and extend your hearts to Yahweh the God of Israel."

[24]And the people said to Joshua, "Yahweh our God we will serve. And to his voice we will listen."

[25]And Joshua made a covenant with the people on that day. And he established for him statute and judgment at Shechem. [26]And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the Torah of God. And he took a great stone and he set it up there beneath the terebinth tree that was in the sanctuary of Yahweh. [27]And Joshua said to all the people, "Indeed this stone will be for us a witness, for it has heard all the words of Yahweh that he spoke with us. And it will be among you a witness, lest you deny your God."

DEATH AND BURIAL

[28]And Joshua sent each person to his inheritance.

[29]And after these words, Joshua the son of Nun the servant of Yahweh died. He was one hundred and ten years old. [30]And they buried him in the territory of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash. [31]Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua and all the days of the elders whose days extended beyond Joshua, but who knew the work that Yahweh did for Israel.

[32]The bones of Joseph that the Israelites brought up from Egypt were buried in Shechem in the section of the field that Jacob bought from the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem for one hundred Qesitah. They belonged to the sons of Joseph as an inheritance.

[33]And Eleazar the son of Aaron died. And they buried him in Gibeah of Phinehas his son, which was given to him in the hill country of Ephraim.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Division of the Land East of the Jordan River (13:1–33)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 13 signals a transition in the book of Joshua from the destruction of the royal cities (Josh 1–12) to the distribution of the tribal land (Josh 13–24). The opening divine speech (13:1–7) establishes the central theme when Yahweh commands Joshua to "divide this land into an inheritance" (13:7). The speech alerts the reader that the tribal regions will be central themes in Josh 13.

Joshua 13 describes the distribution of land to the eastern tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. The geographical content clarifies that the Jordan River plays a prominent role in defining the border of the land and in determining the relationship between the western and eastern tribes. The chapter opens on the west side with the divine address to Joshua at the end of his career: "And Joshua was old, advanced in days" (13:1). The age of Joshua signals a new time period in the book, when the past warrior must now distribute the land on the west side of the Jordan to prepare the Israelites for a new way of life. The Deity commands Joshua, "Now divide this land into an inheritance for the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh" (13:7). But the fulfillment of the command does not begin until Josh 14, when the western land is distributed by lot to the nine and one-half tribes (14:1–5). Between the command (13:1–7) and the fulfillment (14:1–5) is an extended historical summary about Moses's past conquest of Sihon and Og and his distribution of the land east of the Jordan River to the two and one-half tribes (13:8–33). The distribution of the eastern territory progresses from the southern territory of Reuben (13:15–23) northward to Gad (13:24–28) and ends with the half-tribe of Manasseh (13:29–32). Joshua 13 may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Joshua and the Land West of the Jordan River (13:1–7)
2. Moses and the Land East of the Jordan River (13:8–33)
    A. General Description of the Land (13:8–14)
    B. Reuben (13:15–23)

C. Gad (13:24–28)
D. Half-Tribe of Manasseh (13:29–32)
E. Levites (13:33)

Translation

13:1–7. JOSHUA AND THE LAND WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

13 [1]And Joshua was old, advanced in days. And Yahweh said to him, "You are old. You are advanced in days. Yet there remains very much land to dispossess. [2]This is the land that remains:

"All the districts of the Philistines and all of the Geshurites; [3]from the Shihor, which is near Egypt, to the territory of Ekron northward, to the Canaanites it is reckoned, the five governors of the Philistines, those of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron; and the Avvim.

[4]"From the south all the land of the Canaanites, from Mearah, which belongs to the Sidonians, to Aphek, up to the region of the Amorites; [5]and the land of the Gebalites, and all of Lebanon eastward, from Baal-gad below Mount Hermon to Lebo-hamath; [6]all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim. All of the Sidonians I am dispossessing them from before the Israelites, only cause it to fall to the Israelites as an inheritance, as I commanded you.

[7]"Now divide this land into an inheritance for the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh."

13:8–33. MOSES AND THE LAND EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

13 [8]With him, the Reubenites and the Gadites took their inheritance, which Moses gave to them across the Jordan eastward, as Moses the servant of Yahweh gave them:

[9]From Aroer, which is on the edge of the Wadi Arnon and the city that is in the middle of the Wadi, and all the plain of Medeba to Dibon; [10]and all the cities of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who ruled in Heshbon to the region of the Ammonites;

[11]and Gilead, and the region of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, all of Mount Hermon, and all of Bashan to Salecah; [12]all the kingdom of Og in Bashan, who ruled in Ashtaroth and in Edrei. He was left from the remainder of the Rephaim. And Moses slaughtered them and he dispossessed them. [13]But the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maacathites. And Geshur and Maacath live in the midst of Israel until this day.

[14]Only to the tribe of Levi he did not give an inheritance. The offerings of fire to Yahweh the God of Israel are his inheritance as he spoke to him.

[15]Moses gave to the tribe of Reuben according to their families.

[16]The region to them was from Aroer, which was on the edge of the Wadi Arnon and the city, which was in the middle of the Wadi, and all the plain by Medeba; [17]Heshbon, and all its cities, which were on the plain—Dibon, Bamot-baal, and Bet-baal-meon, [18]Jahaz, Kedemoth, Mephaath, [19]Kiriathaim, Sibmah, and Zereth-shahar on the mountain of the valley, [20]Beth-peor, the shoulder of Pisgah, Beth-jeshimoth, [21]and all the cities of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who ruled in Heshbon, whom Moses slaughtered along with the leaders of Midian—Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, leaders of Sihon who dwelled in the land. [22]And Balaam son of Beor, the diviner, the Israelites killed with the sword among their slain. [23]The border of the Reubenites was the Jordan and its border.

This is the inheritance of the Reubenites according to their families, cities, and homes.

[24]And Moses gave to the tribe of Gad, to the sons of Gad according to their families.

[25]And this was the region to them: Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half of the land of the Ammonites until Aroer, which is before Rabbah, [26]and from Heshbon to Ramath-mizpeh and Betonim, and from Mahanaim to the region of Lidbir, [27]and in the valley of Beth-haram, Beth-nimrah, Succoth, Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, the Jordan, and the region to the end of the Sea of Chinnereth, across the Jordan eastward.

[28]This is the inheritance of the sons of Gad according to their families, cities, and homes.

[29]And Moses gave to the half-tribe of Manasseh. And it was to the half-tribe of Manasseh according to their families. [30]And their region was from Mahanaim, all of Bashan, all of the kingdom of Og of Bashan, and all of Havvoth-jair, which are in Bashan, sixty cities, [31]and half of Gilead, and Ashtaroth and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, to the sons of Machir the son of Manasseh for half of the sons of Machir according to their families.

[32]These are what Moses gave as inheritance on the plains of Moab across the Jordan east of Jericho. [33]But to the tribe of Levi Moses did not give an inheritance. Yahweh, the God of Israel, he is their inheritance as he said to them.

Notes

The MT and the LXX contrast in the presentation of geography and in the literary structure of Josh 13. The remaining unconquered land is described in 13:1b–6. Both versions provide the southern (13:2b–3) and the northern (13:4–6a) areas of the unconquered land. They agree on the northern extent (Lebo-hamath/Hamath), but they diverge in the southern reach: The MT extends the unconquered land into Egypt to Shihor, a location likely associated with the Nile River; the LXX locates the area outside of the territory of Egypt in "uninhabited land before Egypt."

The literary structure is also different in the MT and the LXX. The MT presents a two-part division between 13:1–14 and 15–33, while the LXX separates 13:1–7 and 8–33, with the latter section dividing further between 13:8–14 and 15–33. The contrasting structures emerge at key points of transition between 13:7 and 8, and 13:14 and 15. The MT merges 13:1–7 and 8–14 into one section with the prepositional phrase *'immô,* "with him," in 13:8: "*With him* the Reubenites and the Gadites took their inheritance." The antecedent is the "half-tribe of Manasseh" at the close of 13:7: "Now divide this land into an inheritance for the nine tribes and *the half-tribe of Manasseh.*" Although the syntax of the MT is difficult to interpret, it yields a single literary unit consisting of 13:1–14 (see, for example, Noth, 1971b: 73; Knauf, 2008: 126). The LXX separates 13:1–7 from 8–14, creating a series of contrasts to the MT: It includes an additional geographical summary in 13:7: "And now divide this land in inheritance of nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasse; from the Iordan to the Great Sea toward the west you will give it. The Great Sea will determine the boundary"; it lacks the propositional phrase in the MT of 13:8; and it includes an introduction at the beginning of 13:8: "But to the two tribes and the half-tribe of Manasse, to Rouben and to Gad." The MT and the LXX also differ in the transition between the general (13:8–14) and the more detailed (13:15–31) accounts of land distribution east of the Jordan. The MT merges the two sections so that the lack of inherited land to the Levites (13:14) is followed immediately by the account of land distribution to Reuben: "Moses gave to the tribe of Reuben according to their families." As in 13:7–8, the problem is absent in the LXX; it distinguishes between the introductory summary of land distribution (13:8–14) and the more detailed description of the territories (13:15–33) with a separate introduction in 13:14: "This is the inheritance, which Moyses divided to the sons of Israel in the Araboth of Moab in the plain of the Iordan by Iericho."

I am following in general the LXX division of Josh 13. The chapter separates into two parts: (1) 13:1–7 is a first-person divine speech to Joshua, which commands him to distribute the land west of the Jordan River. The divine speech is oriented to the future, requiring action from Joshua, reminiscent of Josh 1, where Yahweh commanded Joshua to destroy the royal cities west of the Jordan. The theme of land distribution signals a transition in the plot structure of the book of Joshua from war to settlement, even though the divine speech also includes a list of regions in which conquest is not yet complete. (2) 13:8–33 is third-person narrative, recounting Moses's conquest of the nations east of the Jordan River and his distribution of the land to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh. This is further divided into two parts, including an introduction (13:8–14) and a more detailed account of land distribution (13:15–33).

13:1 *And Yahweh said to him.* The Hebrew *'ēlāyw,* "to him," is rendered as the proper name "Iesous" in the LXX.

You are old. You are advanced in days. The LXX has a shorter version, *su probebēkas tōn hēmerōn,* "You are advanced in days."

to dispossess. The Hebrew *lĕrištāh,* "to dispossess," is rendered in the LXX *eis klēronomian,* "for inheritance." The meaning of the Hebrew *yāraš* is debated, since it could signify conquest or colonization viewed as inheritance (see H. N. Rösel, 2011: 208; Nelson, 1997: 165). The root *yāraš* appears in both the Qal (e.g., 1:11, 15; 13:1) and Hiphil forms (e.g., 3:10, 8:7, 13:6), with the majority of the occurrences in the second half of the book (sixteen of twenty-four). The Hiphil always signifies conquest, as in Joshua's declaration of Yahweh as "El, the living," during the crossing of the Jordan: "By this you will know that El, the living, is in your midst. And he is dispossessing before you the Canaanites" (3:10). The Qal, as in 13:1, may signify simply land possession as a process of colonization or even inheritance, as in the following example: "And I [Yahweh] gave Esau the hill country of Seir as his inheritance" (24:4 see also 21:43). The LXX favors the latter reading, but the Hebrew is more ambiguous, since the Qal also describes land possession through conquest (e.g., 18:3, 19:47). The appearance of *yāraš* in the Qal (13:1, 18:3, 19:47, 21:43, 24:4) and in the Hiphil (13:6, 12–13; 14:12; 15:14, 63; 16:10;

17:12–13; 23:5, 9, 13; 24:8) throughout Josh 13–24 indicates that the maintenance of purity through conquest and the possession of the land remain linked.

13:2 *All the districts.* The Hebrew *kōl-gĕlilôt,* "all the districts," is rendered in the LXX *horia,* "regions" (likely reflecting the Hebrew *gĕbûl;* so Auld, 2005: 172).

Philistines. The Hebrew *happĕlištîm* identifies a people who live in the area of *pĕlešet,* the coastal plain of southern Palestine from Gaza in the south to Joppa in the north. The LXX renders the Hebrew as *phylistim,* "Philistines," in the book of Joshua, but it also translates the Hebrew as *allophulos,* "foreigner," in many other texts (e.g., Judg 3:3, 10:7; 1 Sam 5:1). Historians identify the Philistines with the Sea Peoples, who were likely of Aegean origin and entered ancient Palestine in the thirteenth century BCE. The Harris Papyrus I portrays the defeat of the Sea Peoples by Rameses III (1198–1166 BCE) and the settlement of the Philistines on the southern coastal plain of Palestine. A. Killebrew (2005: 15–19) reinforced the nonindigenous origin of the Philistines from the examination of the material culture, including ceramic typology, technology, food, architecture, and city planning. The territory of the Philistines consisted of the five major cities mentioned in 13:3, as well as smaller cities such as Ziklag and Jabneh. In the Hebrew Bible, the Philistines play a prominent role in the stories of Samson (Judg 13–16), Samuel (1 Sam 1–8), Saul (1 Sam 13–14), and David (1 Sam 17, 27–31; 2 Sam 5) and a minor role in stories of Abraham (Gen 21) and Isaac (Gen 26), who interact with the Philistine king Abimelech. Biblical writers locate the Philistines in the Table of Nations as descendants of Ham (Gen 10:14), thus designating them as nonindigenous to the land of Canaan. This point is reinforced by their absence from all the lists of the indigenous nations (e.g., Josh 3:10). The two occurrences of the Philistines in the book of Joshua (13:2 and 3), however, include their land as an unconquered region that the western tribes must possess as an inheritance.

Geshurites. The Hebrew *gĕšûr* may derive from the root *gtr,* meaning "stronghold, fortress." B. Mazar (1961: 16–17) sought to recover the pre-Israelite kingdom of Geshur between Gilead, Bashan, and Mount Hermon, while J. Pakkala (2010) noted the difficulty of such an identification. Na'aman (2012: 94) identified Geshur with et-Tell, a location northeast of the Sea of Galilee based on the archaeological evidence. This identification corresponds to Josh 13:11–13. David is associated with this location in the revolt of Absalom (e.g., 2 Sam 13–20; see Sergi and Kleiman, 2018). Joshua 13:2 conflicts with this identification, since it associates the Geshurites with a more southern location on the west side of the Jordan River. B. Mazar (1961: 21) writes, "It is difficult to decide whether this (Josh 13:2) is simply a gloss referring to Geshur in Trans-Jordan, or whether the Geshurites in the south are meant." H. N. Rösel (2011: 209) summarizes: (1) Geshur may refer to the more common northeast location, in which case 13:2 is an introductory statement about the entire land stretching from the southwest region of the Philistines ("all the districts of the Philistines") to the northeast location of the Geshurites ("all of the Geshurites"; see Fritz, 1994: 146); or (2) Geshur designates a location southwest of the Jordan within the vicinity of the Philistines (see Soggin 1972: 152; and Noth, 1971b: 75). There is a tradition of David attacking Geshurites when he lived in the Philistine city of Ziglak (1 Sam 27:8). Neither reading is easy, although the latter is the stronger. The geographical organization of 13:2–6 from the south (13:2–3) to the north (13:4–6) suggests a southern location for Geshur in 13:2, and the focus of 13:1–7 on land west of the Jordan makes the eastern location of Geshur unlikely.

13:3 *Shihor.* The Hebrew *šîḥôr* may derive from the Egyptian *s'(y)-h'r,* "the pond of Horus." Meyer (1906: 333) suggested instead a corruption from "Shur." Na'aman (2005: 265) interpreted Shihor to mean wadi (see 19:26), suggesting its identification with the Nahal Besor in the Negev; while Wazana (2013: 212) preferred a wordplay between Shihor and Shur, which allowed the author to extend the southern boundary from the more traditional "wadi of Egypt" to Shihor (e.g., Num 34:5; Josh 15:4, 47; 1 Kgs 8:65; Ezek 47:20, 48:1). The identification of Shihor with the Nile River is evident in the oracle against Tyre: "your messengers crossed over the sea and were on the mighty waters; your revenue was the grain of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile" (Isa 23:3). But even the identification of Shihor within Egypt results in diverse interpretations. (1) Shihor may designate a location within Egypt, rather than the southern border to the land. Noth (1971b: 70, 75), for example, identified Shihor with the eastern branch of the Nile River or with one of the lakes in the eastern Delta region; he concluded that it is intended to refer to a location in Egypt and not the southern border of the land. (2) Shihor may designate the southern border of the land, thus extending the land of Israel into Egypt as far as the Nile River. Saebø (1974: 17–31) noted that the formula "from–to" in 13:3 designates a region. S. Japhet (1979: 210) added that the same southern boundary appears in 1 Chr 13: "So David assembled all Israel *from* the Shihor of Egypt *to* Lebo Hamath" (13:5). Japhet identified an inner-biblical connection between 1 Chr 13 and Josh 13, noting that these are the only texts to combine Shihor and Lebo-hamath as the southern and northern extremities of the land. Her evaluation of Shihor in 1 Chr 13 applies equally to Josh 13: "[T]he Chronicler's formulation of the Israelite borders presents the most extreme concept of the Israelite territory to be found in the Bible" (1979: 209). The difference between the two texts is that the southern border in Josh 13 is part of the land *not yet settled* by the tribes, while in 1 Chr 13 the same territory is *long settled* by the Israelites. The LXX avoids the extension of the southern boundary into Egypt by not using the place-name Shihor, referring instead to the more general region, *apo tēs aoikētou,* "from the uninhabited land."

near Egypt. The Hebrew *'al-pĕnê* is difficult to translate. The prepositional phrase occurs seven times in Josh 13–24 with a range of possible meanings (13:3, 25; 15:8; 17:7; 18:14, 16; 19:11). J. F. Drinkart (1979) questioned the tendency to translate "east of" as in the NRSV: "from Shihor, which is east of Egypt." He countered, when the prepositional phrase refers to definite localities, that it either links a "lesser known place or region to a better-known one" or "distinguishes sites having the same name" (1979: 286). Joshua 13:3 reflects the former function, linking the lesser known Shihor with Egypt. The range of possible translations, according to Drinkart, includes "near, close by, in the vicinity of, in the region of."

to the territory of Ekron northward. The Hebrew *ṣāpônâ,* "northward," is translated in the LXX *ex euōnumōn,* "to the left." Auld (2005: 172) clarifies: "Directions are expressed facing sunrise in the east; and so the left is to the north."

governors of the Philistines. The Hebrew *seren,* "governors," is a technical term restricted to the identification of the five rulers of the Philistines. The etymology of the word is uncertain. The LXX translates *satrapeiais,* "satrapies."

Gaza. Gaza is identified as an unconquered city in 13:3. This conflicts with the account of Joshua's conquest (10:41). See the "Notes" to 10:41.

Ashdod. See the "Notes" to 11:22.

Ashkelon. The Hebrew *'ešqĕlôn* is a seaport city located twelve miles north of Gaza. References to Ashkelon occur as early as the Middle Bronze period in the Egyptian Execration Texts and later in the Amarna Letters of the Late Bronze period (EA 320–26), where it is clear that the city was firmly under Egyptian rule. The Merneptah Stele also mentions Ashkelon, along with Canaan, Gezer, Yanoam, and Israel as having been defeated by Egypt (*ANET* 378). Ashkelon occurs twelve times in the Hebrew Bible, often in conjunction with the five cities of the Philistines (e.g., Josh 13:3, Jer 25:20, 1 Sam 6:17, Zeph 2:4) or in prophetic oracles of judgment against foreign nations (e.g., Jer 47:5, 7; Amos 1:8; Zeph 2:7; Zech 9:5). Judges 1:18 states that the tribe of Judah conquered Ashkelon. The one reference to the city in the book of Joshua (13:3) includes the gentilic ending *'ešqĕlônî,* "those of Ashkelon." It states the opposite of Judges, namely that Ashkelon along with the other cities of the Philistines remained unconquered.

Gath. See the "Notes" to 11:22.

Ekron. The Hebrew *'eqrôn* is a city in the Shephelah region approximately twenty-two miles southwest of Jerusalem. Historical geographers identified the ancient city with Tel Miqne, the largest Iron Age site in contemporary Israel. S. Gitin, T. Dothan, and J. Naveh (1997) discovered a dedicatory inscription identified with the seventh-century BCE king of Ekron, 'Akish, firmly linking the ancient city with the contemporary Tel Miqne. Ekron occurs more than twenty times in the Hebrew Bible along with the five cities of the Philistines (e.g., Josh 13:3, 1 Sam 6:16, Jer 25:20) and in prophetic oracles of judgment (e.g., Amos 1:8; Zeph 2:4; Zech 9:5, 7), while the god of Ekron, Baal-zebub, is mentioned in the story of Ahaziah and Elijah (2 Kgs 1). Ekron occurs five times in the book of Joshua (13:3; 15:11, 45, 46; 19:43): as an unconquered city (13:3; compare Judg 1:18); as part of the territory of Judah, where it is both a border city (15:11) and a city within its territory (15:45, 46); and as a city within the territory of Dan (19:43).

Avvim. The Hebrew *'awwîm* designates both a people and a place in the book of Joshua. (1) Avvim is a people living south of the Philistines (13:3). In Deut 2:20–23, the Avvim are mentioned in a summary of the legendary people from the past defeated by other nations. Three are listed: The Ammonites defeat the Rephaim/Zamsummim; the Moabites defeat the Horites; and the Caphtorites defeat the Avvim. The summary moves geographically from territory east of the Jordan (the Ammonites), southward (the Moabites), to a region southwest of the Jordan (the Avvim associated with the city of Gaza). In Amos 9:7, Caphtor is identified as the original homeland of the Philistines: "Did I [Yahweh] not bring . . . the Philistine from Caphtor." Joshua 13:3 identifies the Avvim as a distinct people, who live south of the Philistines. The LXX goes in yet another direction, rendering the Avvim as Hivites, *euaiōi,* making them one of the indigenous nations. (2) Avvim is a northern city in Benjamin within the vicinity of Bethel (18:23). Perhaps this northern city is related to the condemnation of non-Israelites in 2 Kgs 17, which describes people from Babylon, Cuthan, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharviam who were brought into Samaria by the Assyrians. Second Kings 17:31 states the Avvim worshiped the gods Nibhaz and Tartak.

13:4 *From the south.* The literary context of the phrase is unclear in the MT, especially whether it completes the description of the southern region in 13:2–3 (so H. N. Rösel, 2011: 210–11) or begins the description of the north as in the LXX, which renders the direction "south" as a place-name, *ek thaiman*, "from Thaiman." See the "Notes" to 12:3.

all the land of the Canaanites. See the "Notes" to 3:10.

from Mearah. The Hebrew *ûmĕʿārâ* is difficult to interpret. It may be a proper name, Mearah, or the word "cave" (e.g., 10:16–27). The linking of the word with the designation "to Aphek" suggests that the proposition *-min*, "from," may have been lost through haplography, yielding the translation "from Mearah" (Steuernagel, 1923: 256), or it may signify the phrase "from Arah," an unknown location (Noth, 1971b: 70). The LXX departs from the MT with the reading *enantion gazēs*, "before Gaza," placing the city in the south, which is problematic because of the association with Sidon in the far north. C. G. den Hertog (2009: 57) suspected a different Hebrew *Vorlage* to the LXX to account for the distinct reading. T. C. Butler (2014a: 47) suggested a possible reference to an "unknown Sidonian town." The translation is tentative; it follows the argument of Steuernagel and others that emphasizes the syntactical formula "from . . . to."

Sidonians. The reference is to the population of the region. The point of the text is that the population is unconquered, although Joshua fought to its borders in Josh 11. See the "Notes" to 11:8.

Aphek. See the "Notes" to 12:18.

region of the Amorites. See the "Notes" to 2:10. The border of the Amorites is located on the west side of the Jordan, thus excluding the references to the Amorite kings Sihon and Og, who dwell on the east side of the Jordan (e.g., 2:10; 9:10; 12:2; 13:10; 24:8, 12). The western Amorites are indigenous to the land (e.g., 3:10, 9:1, 11:3, 12:8, 24:11). The Amorite region and its borders are difficult to identify because the book of Joshua locates Amorites in many areas: They are located in the central northern highlands region, along with the Hittites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites (11:3); and they are also identified with southern kings (10:5, 6, 12) and with northern armies (11:3; see also 5:1).

13:5 *Gebalites.* The Hebrew *giblî* refers to the citizens of Gebal, a Phoenician port city on the Mediterranean Sea approximately forty miles north of Sidon, later named Byblos by the Greeks. Some LXX versions read *galiath* or *galilath/d* instead of *gabli* (see den Hertog, 2009: 55). The phrase *kai pasan tēn gēn gabli phylistiim*, "all the land of Gabil of Phylistim," appears to enlarge the Philistine territory to the north, which may be a gloss (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 167). The enlargement of the Philistine territory at the expense of the Phoenician area may reflect the presence of Phoenician trading in the southern coastal area at the time of the translator (den Hertog, 2009: 59–60). Gebal and the Gebalites are mentioned three or four times in the Hebrew Bible, and only once in the book of Joshua. The city of Gebal is mentioned one time in Ezekiel's dirge over the city of Tyre, where the people of Gebal are identified as artisans and builders (Ezek 27). This identification corresponds to 1 Kgs 5:32 where the Gebalites are also artisans, who assist in the construction of Solomon's Temple. Gebal is mentioned in Ps 83:8: "Gebal and Ammon and Amalek; Philistia with the inhabitants of Tyre." Interpreters are unsure whether this reference is to a different southern city in the vicinity of Ammon and Amalek or the northern city of Gebal, in which case the reference is tied to Tyre. Joshua 13:5 extends the boundary of the western land much farther north by including Gebal in the list of unconquered land.

all of Lebanon eastward. The MT reads literally "all of Lebanon east of the sun" (*mizraḥ haššemeš*). The LXX translates *kai panta ton libanōn apo anatolon hēbliou*, "and all the Lebanon from the rising of the sun" or "the eastern portion of Lebanon." The translation *libanon* in the LXX conflicts with 1:3–4, where the same area was identified as Antilebanon. S. Holmes (1914: 16) interpreted the difference to indicate a distinct translator in Josh 13 from that in Josh 1. Van der Meer (2004: 207–8) interprets the difference as intentional to lessen the tension between the statements in 11:7 and 12:7 that the Antilebanon region east of the Jordan River had been conquered, and in 13:4–5 that the area remained as yet unconquered. The literary strategy in Josh 13, which separates the east and the west sides of the Jordan River, suggests that the author intends a western region of Lebanon. For discussion of Lebanon, see the "Notes" to 1:4.

Baal-gad. The LXX renders the location *galgal*, "Gilgal." See the "Notes" to 11:17.

Mount Hermon. Mount Hermon is located on the west side of the Jordan River, and it is intended to signify the eastern border of the unconquered land (see also 11:16–17). Mount Herman is also east of the Jordan River, representing the northernmost region of the kingdom of Og of Bashan (12:5). See the "Notes" to 11:3.

Lebo-hamath. The Hebrew *lĕbôʾ ḥămat*, "Lebo-hamath," is translated as a phrase in the LXX, *tēs eisodou emath*, "to the entrance of Hamath." Some English translations, such as the RSV, also interpret the Hebrew as a phrase, "the entrance of Hamath"; but compare the NRSV "Lebo-hamath." (1) Hamath. The Hebrew *ḥămat* is most likely a city in Syria located approximately 125 miles north of Damascus on the Orontes River. The city is identified as Ematu in Bronze-period inscriptions from Ebla and as Imat or Amata in Egyptian texts from the same period. Hamath is named Epiphaneia in the Hellenistic period. Historical geographers identify the site with contemporary Hama. The Hebrew Bible states that David conquered Hamath (2 Sam 8:9–10, 1 Chr 18:9–10), that Solomon built storage units in the territory of Hamath (2 Chr 8:4), and that Jeroboam II also conquered the city (2 Kgs 14:28). The central role of the king of Hamath in waging war against the Neo-Assyrians (853–845 BCE) does not correspond to the biblical references. Hamath also occurs in a series of prophetic texts (e.g., Isa 10:9, 11:11; Ezek 47:16–17, 48:1). (2) Lebo-hamath may be a distinct location, in which case it remains in the vicinity of Hamath. Egyptian inscriptions refer to a city, Lebo, that is located south of Hamath, perhaps corresponding to modern Lebweh, located in the Baalbeck district of Lebanon. Lebo-hamath occurs eight times in the Hebrew Bible and once in Joshua (13:5). It is the northernmost point of spying in the Priestly version of the story (Num 13:21); it remains the northernmost point to the land in Num 34:7–9, which corresponds to its one occurrence in Joshua (13:5). Lebo-hamath also indicates the northernmost point of the land when it is contrasted to a variety of southern borders, including the wadi of Egypt (1 Kgs 8:65, 2 Chr 7:8), the Sea of Arabah (2 Kgs 14:25), or Shihor of Egypt (1 Chr 13:5). Ezekiel 48:1 also designates Lebo-hamath as the northern border to the land, perhaps distinguishing the location from Hamath, which may indicate a larger region (see also Jer 52:27 and 2 Kgs 23:33, which refer to the "land of Hamath").

13:6 *Misrephoth-maim.* See the "Notes" to 11:8.

All of the Sidonians. The reference summarizes the entire population of the northern geographical description (13:4–6a), as compared to the southern Egyptian and Philistine areas (13:2b–3).

only cause it to fall to the Israelites. The Hebrew *happilehā*, "cause it to fall," is often interpreted as a command for Joshua to cast lots for land distribution (e.g., NRSV;

Boling and Wright, 1982: 330; Pitkänen, 2010: 265; Nelson, 1997: 163), based in part on the LXX, which includes reference to the lot: *alla diados autēn en klērōi tōi israēl,* "but divide it in allotments for Israel." The MT is more ambiguous, however, since it lacks any reference to the lot (*gôrāl*). The verb "to fall" (*nāpal*) may designate the lot, as in 1 Chr 26:14 and Jonah 1:7. But in these cases, the "lot" (*gôrāl*) is the subject of the verb "to fall," yielding the translation "the lot fell to." Similar references to the lot as the subject of the sentence, but with the verbs "to ascend" (18:11, 19:10) and "to go out" (19:1, 17, 24, 32, 40; 21:40), are common in the book of Joshua. The use of the Hiphil of the verb "to fall" in the MT without reference to the lot suggests a military meaning (*HALOT* 710), especially within the context of the unconquered land in 13:1b–6. My translation, "only cause it to fall to," follows Butler (2014a: 45).

13:7 *divide.* The Hebrew *ḥālaq,* "to divide," introduces the theme of land distribution into the book of Joshua. The noun *ḥeleq,* "portion," and the verb *ḥālaq* do not occur in Josh 1–12, but they appear seventeen times in the remainder of the book. The divine command to divide the land in 13:7, *wĕʿattâ ḥallēq ʾet-hāʾāreṣ hazzōʾt,* "now divide this land," and its completion in 19:51, *waykallû mēḥallēq ʾet-hāʾāreṣ,* "and they completed dividing the land," tie Josh 13–19 into a literary unit in the MT. The LXX translates the divine command to divide the land in 13:7 with the verb *merison.* The LXX translates the concluding formula in 19:51, *kai eporuethēsan embateusai tēn gēn,* "and they proceeded to come into possession of the land," thus eliminating the *inclusio* between 13:7 and 19:51 in the MT.

Now divide this land into an inheritance for the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh. The LXX contains a longer version than the MT with the addition of more geographical detail: "From the Iordan to the Great Sea toward the west you give it. The Great Sea will determine the boundary." Auld (1998: 20–21) argued the LXX is the more original and the MT represents a later revision, perhaps arising from a textual omission from the end of 13:7 (the geographical summary in the LXX) and the beginning of 13:8 (the reference to the two and one-half tribes in the LXX). The omission may have triggered the prepositional phrase "with him" in the MT of 13:8 and the additional statement "the Reubenites and the Gadites took (*lāqaḥ*) their inheritance," which is out of context in a narrative that describes Moses giving (*nātan*) the inheritance.

13:8 *With him.* The prepositional phrase *ʿimmô,* "with him/it," lacks an antecedent, making the transition between 13:7 and 8 in the MT uneven. The context suggests the antecedent is the half-tribe of Manasseh at the conclusion of 13:7. H. Winter-Nielsen (1995: 253) follows this reading, suggesting that the prepositional phrase should be translated "along with it" and that the reference to the half-tribe of Manasseh in 13:7 is functioning as the introduction to v. 8 (see also Butler, 2014a: 47). The problem, however, is that 13:7 targets the tribes on the west side of the Jordan, while 13:8 shifts focus to the tribes on the east side, making a continuous reading difficult. The MT is more likely the result of textual corruption through haplography, perhaps by homoioteleuton (Nelson, 1997: 169). The LXX lacks the problem; it provides a more detailed text, which separates 13:1–7 from 13:8–14 with a new introduction: "To the two tribes and the half-tribe of Manasse, to Rouben and to Gad." Auld (1998: 20–21) expresses the opinion of many in favoring the LXX as reflecting the more original meaning (see also Barthélemy, 1982: 28–29).

Moses the servant of Yahweh gave them. The LXX employs the singular *autēn,* "to him."

13:9 *Aroer.* Two distinct locations may appear in Josh 13: a site near the Wadi Arnon associated with Reuben (13:9, 16; compare also Num 32:34, Deut 2:36), and a city farther north near Rabbah (modern Amman) in Gad (13:25; compare also Judg 11:33). The Mesha Inscription (line 26, *ANET* 320) describes Aroer as a city built by the Moabite king. See the "Notes" to 12:2.

Wadi Arnon. See the "Notes" to 12:1.

all the plain of Medeba until Dibon. The Hebrew *mîšōr,* "plain," is translated in the LXX as a place-name, *misōr,* Misor.

Medeba. The Hebrew *mêdĕāʾ* refers to a city on the east of the Jordan River along the King's Highway, approximately eighteen miles south of contemporary Amman. The LXX translates *maidaba.* Medeba occurs only five times in the Hebrew Bible, with two of the occurrences in Joshua (13:9, 16; Num 21:30; Isa 15:2; 1 Chr 19:7). Numbers 21:30 mentions Medeba in the final line of a poem about the destruction of Heshbon (see the "Notes" to Josh 9:10). Isaiah 15:2 includes Medeba in an oracle of judgment against Moab, while 1 Chr 19:7 states that Medeba served as a rallying location for the Ammonites to wage war against David. Joshua 13:9 and 16 correspond with the imagery of the poem in Num 21:30, associating Medeba with Heshbon and Dibon (see below). Mesha, the king of Moab, mentions Medeba in the Mesha Inscription (*ANET* 320), and it assumes a more prominent role during Maccabean rule; Josephus states that John Hyrcanus conquered it (*Ant.* 13.9.1).

Dibon. The Hebrew *dîbōn* is located on the east side of the Jordan River, on the King's Highway approximately fifteen miles south of Medeba and two miles north of the Wadi Arnon. The LXX translates *daibon.* Dibon occurs eleven times in the Hebrew Bible: in a poem about the destruction of Heshbon (Num 21:30), as property of the Gadites (Num 32:3) who rebuild Dibon (Num 32:34), as a stop in the wilderness itinerary (Dibon-gad in Num 33:45–46), in oracles against Moab (Isa 15:2; Jer 48:18, 22), and as a city to which the exiles return (Neh 11:25). Dibon occurs twice in Joshua, both times in the description of the Israelite land east of the Jordan River, as an original city of Sihon (13:9) and as a possession of Reuben (13:17). No mention is made of the association of Dibon and Moab.

13:10 *and all the cities.* The conjunction in the Hebrew, *wĕkōl,* "and all," is lacking in the LXX, *pasas tas poleis seōn,* "all the cities of Seon," which corresponds to 13:12, *pasan tēn basileian ōg,* "all the kingdom of Og."

13:11 *Gilead.* See the "Notes" to 12:2.

Geshurites. See the "Notes" to 12:5.

Maacathites. See the "Notes" to 12:5.

Bashan. See the "Notes" to 9:10.

Salecah. See the "Notes" to 12:5.

13:12 *Ashtaroth.* The city is identified as one of the residences of Og along with Edrei (Deut 1:4; Josh 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31) and as a city of the Gershonites (1 Chr 6:71). The city may be named after the deity Aštarte. See also the "Notes" to 9:10.

Edrei. See the "Notes" to 12:4.

Rephaim. See the "Notes" to 12:4.

And Moses slaughtered them and he dispossessed them. The plural suffixes in the MT, *wayakkēm,* "he slaughtered them," and *wayōrišēm,* "he dispossessed them," suggest the Rephaim as the antecedent. The singular pronoun in the LXX, *auton,* "him," suggests Og as the antecedent.

13:13 *but the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maacathites.* The LXX adds a third ethnic group, "the Chanaanites."

13:14 *he did not give.* Neither the MT nor the LXX refers specifically to Moses. Compare the NRSV, "Moses gave no inheritance."

The offerings of fire to Yahweh the God of Israel are his inheritance. The MT *ʾiššê yhwh ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl hûʾ naḥălātô* may be an inner-biblical quotation from Deut 18:1, *ʾiššê yhwh wĕnahălātô yōʾkēlûn,* "the sacrifices of Yahweh and his inheritance they will eat," which may account for the unexpected singular references in the MT to the collective tribe of Levi. The LXX includes plural references to the Levites, while the reference to "offerings of fire" is absent, *kurios ho theos Israēl houstos autōn klēronomia,* "the Lord, the God of Israel, he is their inheritance."

LXX *This is the inheritance, which Moyses divided to the sons of Israel in the Araboth of Moab in the steppe of the Iordan opposite Iericho.* Absent in the MT.

13:15 *according to their families.* The Hebrew *mišpĕḥōt,* "families," is rendered in the LXX *dēmous,* "popular assembly," an assembly of citizens in a Hellenistic city who are gathered for the purpose of transacting official business (BDAG 223).

13:16 *and all the plain by Medeba.* The Hebrew *ʿel-mêdĕbāʾ* translates literally "on Medeba." Fritz (1994: 150) noted the syntactical problems with the MT. Nelson (1997: 169) favored deleting "Medeba" altogether to restore meaning. The LXX lacks the reference to Medeba and translates the Hebrew word *mîšōr,* "plain," as a place-name, Misor (see also 13:17, 20).

13:17 *Heshbon.* The MT *ḥešbôn* is written as a prepositional phrase in the LXX, *heōs esebōn,* "until Heshbon." For discussion of Heshbon, see the "Notes" to 9:10.

Bamot-baal. The Hebrew *bāmôt baʿal* most likely indicates a place-name rather than the phrase "high places of Baal." The LXX translates *bamōthbaal.* The location occurs one other time in the Hebrew Bible, in the story of Balak, the king of Moab, who hires Balaam to curse the Israelites from Bamot-baal (Num 22:41). The general setting of the story in Num 22 is similar to the geographical description in Josh 13:17; both texts suggest a location in the Abarim mountain range.

Beth-baal-meon. The Hebrew *bêt baʿal mĕʿôn* occurs only in Josh 13:17. The LXX translates the location as a phrase, *oikou beelmōn,* "house of Beelmon." The setting indicates northern Moab, which historical geographers associate with the contemporary village of Ma'in, southwest of Medeba. Beth-baal-meon is likely related to Baal-meon, a city in the area of Mount Nebo in 1 Chr 5:8 and also mentioned in an oracle against Moab in Ezek 25:9. Other references include Beth-meon in Jeremiah's oracle against Moab (Jer 48:23) and Beon (Num 32:3) and Baal-moen (Num 32:38) in the account of the land distribution of Reuben.

13:18 *Jahaz.* The Hebrew *yahṣâ* is a location east of the Jordan River. The LXX translates *iassa.* The city is mentioned in the Mesha Inscription along with Ataroth as cities recaptured from Israel by the Moabite king Mesha (*ANET* 320–21). Prophetic oracles (Isa 15:4; Jer 48:21, 34) and legendary accounts of the Israelite war against Sihon reinforce the location of Jahaz in Moab (e.g., Num 21:23, Deut 2:32, Judg 11:20), suggesting a city south of Heshbon. Jahaz occurs once in the book of Joshua, as a possession of Reuben (Josh 13:18). Jahaz is also reconstructed in Josh 21:36 on the basis of 1 Chr 6:64 (Eng. 6:79).

Kedemoth. The Hebrew *qĕdēmōt* is mentioned in Deut 2:26 in the war against Sihon, where Moses is described as sending messengers from the wilderness of Kedemoth to Sihon. First Chronicles 6:64 (Eng. 6:79) states that Kedemoth was within the tribal land of Reuben and that it was assigned to the Merarite Levites. The location occurs only once in Joshua (13:18), where it corresponds to 1 Chr 6:64 in identifying the city as territory of Reuben. Kedemoth is reconstructed in the MT of Josh 21:37 on the basis of the LXX and 1 Chr 6:64 as a Levitical city. The LXX translates *kedēmōth.*

Mephaath. The Hebrew *mēpāʿat* occurs once in the book of Joshua as a location within the region of Reuben (13:18); it is also reconstructed as a Levitical city (21:37) on the basis of 1 Chr 6:64 (Eng. 6:79). The city also appears in an oracle against Moab (Jer 48:21).

13:19 *Kiriathaim.* The Hebrew *qiryātayim* means "double city." The LXX translates *kariathaim.* Historical geographers have not identified its location. The place-name appears in the story of Abraham's rescue of Lot in Gen 14, where the legendary Emim are defeated by the kings of the east in the "plains of Kiriathaim." Other references indicate its location in Moab (Jer 48:1, 23; Ezek 25:9; and the Mesha Inscription). Numbers 32:37 attributes the rebuilding of the city to the Reubenites. The reference to the city of Kartan, *qartān,* in the northern region of Naphtali (Josh 21:32) appears in 1 Chr 6:61 as Kiriathaim, suggesting a distinct location.

Sibmah. The Hebrew *śibmâ* occurs once in the book of Joshua, as a city in the region of the tribe of Reuben (13:19). The LXX translates *sebama.* The place-name occurs in Isa 16:8–13 in an oracle against Moab and in the account of land distribution in Num 32, as having been rebuilt by the Reubenites (32:38). Sibmah likely occurs at the outset of Num 32 in the list of cities that are a possession of the Gadites and Reubenites, where the spelling is Sebam, *śĕbām* (32:3).

Zereth-shahar. The Hebrew *ṣeret haššaḥar* is a *hapax legomenon;* the location remains unidentified. The LXX interprets the Hebrew as two separate locations, *serada,* "Serada," and *siōr,* "Sior."

on the mountain of the valley. The Hebrew phrase *bĕhar hāʿēmeq* is a *hapax legomenon.* The imagery is unclear and even contradictory. The LXX, *tōi opei emak,* translates the Hebrew "valley" as a proper noun, "on the mountain of Emak."

13:20 *Beth-peor.* The Hebrew *bêt pĕʿôr* is associated with Moses's giving of the law (Deut 4:46) and his death (Deut 34:6). It is in the vicinity of Pisgah and Mount Nebo in the land of Moab. The location is also interwoven with stories of Israelite apostasy, in which the people worship the Baal of Peor (Num 25:3, 5), a deity likely associated with the location of the same name (Hos 9:10). The deity and the location are merged in a series of shortened references to "Peor" (Num 25:18), the "affair of Peor" (Num 31:18), or the "sin of Peor" (*ʾet-ʿawôn peʿôr*) in Josh 22:17 (the LXX translates *tōi hamartema phogor*).

shoulder of Pisgah. See the "Notes" to 12:3.

Beth-jeshimoth. See the "Notes" to 12:3.

13:21 *and all the cities of the plain.* The Hebrew *ʿārê hammîšōr* is translated in the LXX as a specific place, *tas poleis tou misōr,* "the cities of Misor." Nelson (1997: 169) translates the *waw* on the opening word, *wĕkōl,* as explanatory, "that is all the cities," making the verse a summary statement.

Midian—Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba. The Hebrew *midyān* designates a group of people who are nonindigenous to the promised land. The portrait of the Midianites in the Hebrew Bible is complex and contradictory. They are idealized as descendants of Abraham and Keturah (Gen 25:1–6) and as the in-laws of Moses (Exod 2–4, 18; Num 10), where they are desert dwellers who extend hospitality to Moses when he flees Egypt. The Midianites are also demonized as enticing the Israelites to worship the Baal of Peor (Num 25), which leads to their destruction as a nation by the Israelites (Num 31). Joshua 13:21 is the only reference to the Midianites in the book of Joshua; it is firmly anchored in the negative portrayal of the Midianites in which they are destroyed by the Israelites (Num 31). The reference to the five kings of the Midianites specifically relates Josh 13:21 to Num 31:8 (see the "Notes" to 13:22 and the "Comments").

13:22 *Balaam son of Beor.* Balaam is the central character in the story of Balak of Zippor, the Moabite king, who sought to hire Balaam to curse Israel (Num 22–24). See the "Comments" to Josh 24.

with the sword. Absent in the LXX.

among their slain. The Hebrew *ʾel-ḥallêhem* is rendered in the LXX *en tēi hropēi,* "in the decisive moment." The meaning of the Greek *hropē* is debated. The noun can mean "the weight," "the balancing of the scale," and "victory in a decisive moment or crisis" (LSJ 1575), or the imagery of downward movement and even inclination (BDAG 907), which can take on a temporal meaning, "in a moment." The temporal interpretation of the LXX may be a midrash-type of exegesis in emphasizing the suddenness of the death of Balaam. Tov (1978: 57) cautioned against this reading, favoring instead the argument of M. Margolis (1914: 288) that the Greek *hropē* is a corruption of *tropē,* meaning "rout."

13:23 *The border of the Reubenites was the Jordan and its border.* The Hebrew is difficult, since the verse repeats the noun *gĕbûl,* which may be translated "border" or "region." The first instance is unambiguous; it indicates a summary statement about the "border" of Reuben. The second instance, *hayyardēn ûgĕbûl,* is less clear. The phrase may indicate that the Jordan River was included in the region of Reuben, as in the NRSV: "And the border of the Reubenites was the Jordan and its banks." However, it may exclude the Jordan River, according to de Vos (2003: 114–15). The LXX provides yet a different reading: *egeneto de ta hoia roubēn iordanēs hoion,* in which *egeneto,* "it became," may refer to the conquered kingdom of Sihon from 13:21, as in the *NETS:* "[I]t (kingdom of Seon) became the boundaries of Rouben. Iordan was a boundary." Ballhorn (2011: 250–51) detects semantic significance in the ambiguity of the Hebrew, suggesting a broader function that points ahead to the conflict between the western and the eastern tribes in Josh 22 over land and borders, especially whether the Jordan River functions as a border. See also the "Comments."

and homes. The Hebrew *wĕḥaṣrêhen* indicates a permanent settlement without walls, which the NRSV translates as "villages." The LXX translates *hai epauleis,* "farms, homesteads."

13:24 *And Moses gave to the tribe of Gad, to the sons of Gad according to their families.* The syntax of the MT is not clear. The two phrases *lĕmaṭṭēh-gād* and *libnê-gād* appear to be a repetition without clarification. The LXX, *tois huiois gad,* "to the sons of Gad," lacks the repetition.

13:25 *Jazer.* The Hebrew *yaʿăzēr* is an Amorite city first mentioned in the story of Moses's conquest of King Sihon (Num 21:31). Jazer is also included in a census by David (2 Sam 24:5), as a Moabite city in oracles by Isaiah (16:8) and Jeremiah (48:32), and as conquered by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 5:6–8). The city occurs two times in Joshua, as a city in Gilead given to Gad (13:5) and as a Levitical city (21:39). The location is uncertain. Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 12.1–4) places the location west of ancient Heshbon, but more recent evaluations point to a location north of Heshbon (Landes, 1956). Suggested sites include Khirbet es-Sireh, Khirbet Jazzir, Khirbet Sar, and Kom Yajuz (see Kallai, 1986: 268–70).

Gilead. See "Composition." See the "Notes" to 12:2.

Aroer. See the "Notes" to 12:2.

which is before Rabbah. The Hebrew *ʿal-pĕnê rabbâ* may also mean "opposite" (see the NRSV, which translates "east of Rabbah"). The LXX translates *kata prosōpon rabba,* "as far as Rabbah." For discussion of the preposition, see the "Notes" to 13:3.

Rabbah. The Hebrew *rabbâ* means "the great city." The book of Joshua contains two references to Rabbah, which indicate distinct cities. (1) Rabbah is located east of the Jordan River as a city given to the tribe of Gad (13:25). The LXX translates *rabba.* The city is also known as *rabbat bĕnê ʿammôn,* "Rabbah of the Ammonites," the capital of the Ammonite kingdom located near the origin of the Jabbok River within the vicinity of modern Amman (Deut 3:11). Second Samuel 11–12 and 1 Chr 20 describe the Davidic conquest of the city, including "the citadel of the king" and the "fortification of the water." The political tension between Rabbah and Israel is evident in a series of prophetic judgment oracles against the city (e.g., Amos 1:14; Jer 49:2; and Ezek 21:25 [Eng. 21:20], 25:5). (2) Rabbah is also located west of the Jordan River within the territory of Judah (15:60). The LXX translates *arebba* (LXXA) and *sotheba* (LXXB). This city is associated with Kiriath-baal/Kiriath-jearim. Historical geographers associate the site with the Egyptian town Rubute, but the identification remains unconfirmed.

13:26 *Heshbon.* See the "Notes" to 9:10.

Ramath-mizpeh. The Hebrew *rāmâ* means "height" or "elevated place." The word is used alone or with hyphenation to indicate a variety of cities in the book of Joshua. (1) Ramath-mizpeh is a city east of the Jordan River within the region of Gad (13:26). The Hebrew *ramat hammiṣpeh* is translated in the LXX *ramōth.* Noth (1971b: 76–77) argued that the three place-names of Heshbon, Ramath-mizpeh, and Betonim designated the north-south border between Gad and Reuben. The description of Gad, with the use of the "from . . . to" formula, raises the question of whether the author intended to describe a border or simply to create the new region of Gad. Historical geographers debate the location of the city, however, suggesting Khirbet es-sire and Khirbet el-qar'a, while also questioning whether Ramath-mizpeh might be the same location as Mizpah (e.g., Judg 10:17; 11:11, 34; Hos 5:1), in which case the location may be Khirbet Jel'ad (see Glueck, 1934: 155). (2) Ramah is a city west of the Jordan River in Benjamin (18:25). The LXX translates *rama.* The location is er-Ram, situated five miles north of Jerusalem on the eastern side of the road to contemporary Nablus. The Ramah in Benjamin appears in the story of the prophet Deborah (Judg 4:5). It may also function as the birthplace of Samuel (1 Sam 1:19), although 1 Sam 1:1 also identified the birth city of Samuel as Ramathaim-zophim, in the region of Ephraim. Ramah reappears as one of the cities to which the exiles return (Neh 11:33). (3) Ramah is a city west of the Jordan River in Asher within the area of Tyre on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea (19:29). The location is likely unknown, although it has also been identified with er-Rame. The LXX translates *rama.* (4) Ramah is a city west of the Jordan River in the region of Naphtali (19:36); it may be the same location as the city of Ramah in Asher, identified with er-Rame. The LXX translates *rama* (LXXA) and *araēl* (LXXB). (5) Ramath-negeb is a city west of the Jordan River in the region of Simeon (19:8). Ramath-negeb may also be translated "Ramath of the Negeb" (see 1 Sam 30:27). The LXX translates the Hebrew *rāmat negeb* as *baalethberramoth* in the LXXA, combining Baalath-beer and Ramath-negeb into one location, while it is absent in the LXXB.

Betonim. The Hebrew *bĕṭōnîm* is a *hapax legomenon.* The LXX translates *botanin.* Historical geographers suggest Khirbet el-Batneh (Kallai, 1986: 263) without confirmation.

Mahanaim. The Hebrew *maḥănayim* means "double camp." The location first appears in the story of Jacob, when he is located at the ford of the Jabbok River (Gen 32). The story offers a folk etymology for Mahanaim as the place were Jacob divided his family and possessions into two groups to avoid total destruction by Esau. Mahanaim appears as an administrative city during the monarchic period (2 Sam 2:9, 1 Kgs 4:14). Historical geographers have identified the biblical location with contemporary Telul ed-Dhahab el-Garbi on the north side of the Zerqa (ancient Jabbok) River. The location occurs three times in the book of Joshua (13:26, 30; 21:38). It marks the boundary of Gad (13:26; LXX *maanain*) and of Manasseh (13:30; LXX *maanain*), as well as signifying a city of refuge in Gad (21:38; LXX *kamin*). The references to the northern boundary of Gad (13:26) and the southern boundary of Manasseh (13:30) may indicate distinct locations on the northern (13:30) and southern (13:26) sides of the Jabbok River. D. Edelman (1992a) suggests that 13:26 reflects the Gadites' later expansion into the traditional Manassite territory (see 1 Chr 5:16–17).

Lidbir. The Hebrew *lidbir* may be a prepositional phrase, "to Debir," as in the LXX, *heōs tōn horiōn dabir,* "to the border of Dabir." The location, Lidbir, as a city east of the Jordan River, is uncertain. Kallai (1986: 265) located the site on the basis of its function in the text: "Since the territory of Lodebar is at the end of Gad's allotment, and apparently in proximity to the Sea of Chinnereth, this place is as a rule identified with H. 'Umm 'ed-Badab which is located about 8 kilometres to the south-east of Gešer Naḥalāyim, at the edge of the mountain area, close to the Jordan Valley, approximately at the grid reference 2079 2197." For discussion of Debir as a city west of the Jordan River, see the "Notes" to 10:3.

13:27 *valley of Beth-haram.* The Hebrew *bāʿemeq bêt hārām* is a *hapax legomenon.* The LXX suggests two place-names, *en emek baitharam,* "in Emik, Baitharam." The literary context of 13:27 suggests a region or valley on the east side of the Jordan River in Gad. Numbers 32:36 describes a city, *bêt haran* (LXX *maitharan*), associated with Beth-nimrah within the region of Gad.

Beth-nimrah. The Hebrew *bêt nimrâ* is a city east of the Jordan in Josh 13:27 and in Num 32:36 (LXX *nambran*). The LXX translates Josh 13:27 *baithanabra.* The name may indicate the contemporary location Tell Nimrin on the Wadi Nimrin. The reference to the "waters of Nimrim" in oracles against Moab by Isaiah (15:6) and Jeremiah (48:34) associate the site with Zoar, Horoniam, and Eglath-shelishiyah, suggesting a more southern identification with the Wadi en-Numeirah, which flows into the Dead Sea approximately ten miles above its southernmost border.

Succoth. The Hebrew *sukkôt* means "tent" or "booth." Succoth indicates two distinct locations in the Hebrew Bible. (1) Succoth is a city on the east side of the Jordan River, which was part of the kingdom of Sihon given to Gad (13:27). The location of Succoth in Joshua corresponds with other references, which place Succoth by the Jabbok River. These include the folk etymology in the story of Jacob, who makes tents for his cattle at Succoth (Gen 33:17; LXX *skēnē*); the account of Gideon, who attacks the city for not helping him in his war against Midian (Judg 8:5–16); and the story of Solomon's smelting of bronze in the area of Succoth (1 Kgs 7:45–47). Historical geographers associate the biblical Succoth east of the Jordan River with Tell Deir 'Alla or the more western location of Tell el-Ekhasas. (2) Succoth is a location in Egypt, designated as the first stopping place on the exodus from Egypt (e.g., Exod 12:37, 13:20; Num 33:5). This reference is absent from the book of Joshua. It may be to an Egyptian city, Tjeku (*tkw*), identified as the modern Tell el-Maskhuta. The legendary account of the wilderness journey makes the historical identification difficult.

Zaphon. The Hebrew *ṣāpôn* means "north." The place-name occurs in Josh 13:27 as a location in the region of Gad and in Judg 12:1 as the location where the Ephraimites confront Jephthah about not calling for their assistance in his war against the Ammonites.

Sea of Chinnereth. See the "Notes" to 12:3.

13:29 *And Moses gave to the half-tribe of Manasseh. And it was to the half-tribe of Manasseh according to their families.* The LXX omits the second reference to "the half-tribe of Manasseh," resulting in the reading, "And Moyses gave to the half-tribe of Manasse according to their assembly."

13:30 *and all of Havvoth-jair.* The Hebrew *ḥawwōt yāʾîr* may mean "tent dwellings." It designates both a region and a person in the Hebrew Bible. In Josh 13:30 it designates a region in Gilead in the former kingdom of Bashan that includes sixty cities; in 1 Kgs 4:13 Havvoth-jair also indicates sixty walled cities with bronze bars. Judges 10:4 identifies Jair as a person—a Gileadite who judges thirty cities that form Havvoth-jair (see also Deut 3:14 where Jair is a person from the tribe of Manasseh who takes possession of the region). The LXX underscores the regional meaning of the Hebrew in Josh 13:30, translating *pasas tas kōmas iair,* "all the villages of Jair."

13:31 *Gilead.* See the "Notes" to 12:2.

Ashtaroth. See the "Notes" to 9:10.

Edrei. See the "Notes" to 12:4.

Bashan. See the "Notes" to 9:10.

13:32 *These are what.* The Hebrew *ʾēlleh ʾăšer* is unclear. The LXX *houtoi hous* translates "these are the ones," making the eastern tribes the antecedent. Although the syntax of the MT is ambiguous, it appears that the antecedent is the eastern tribal region rather than the eastern tribes. Noth (1971b: 78) and Fritz (1994: 150) resolve the problem in the MT with the addition of *hnḥlt,* translating "Dies sind die Gebiete" ("these are the territories"), which corresponds to 19:51, *ʾēlleh hannĕḥālōt ʾăšer.* Compare de Vos (2003: 179 n. 19).

on the plains of Moab. The LXX translates the Hebrew *'arbôt,* "plains," as a place-name, "in Araboth of Moab."

13:33 *But to the tribe of Levi Moses did not give an inheritance. Yahweh, the God of Israel, he is their inheritance as he said to them.* Absent in the LXX.

Composition

The literary evaluation of Josh 13 and the identification of its date of composition center on two related problems: the literary development of the chapter and the inner-biblical relationship of Josh 13 to similar accounts of land distribution in the Pentateuch.

LITERARY DEVELOPMENT

The composition of Josh 13 has been a topic of debate since the nineteenth century. The central problem among early source critics was to determine the structure of the chapter, as well as the number and the identity of the authors. The problem with the structure was the transition between the divine commission to Joshua at the outset of the chapter and the account of land distribution to the eastern tribes. Source critics tended to divide Josh 13 into two sections: the commission (13:1–14) and the allotment of the land (13:15–33). The focus of debate was on the tribal allotments in 13:15–33, especially whether the material originated with the Priestly author. A. Kuenen (1886: 103–5) assigned portions of 13:15–33 (13:4 [LXX], 15, 23b, 24, 28, 29 [partial], 31 [partial], and 32) to the Priestly source, but he also underscored the difficulty of separating out the later additions and the potentially independent city lists. Wellhausen (1889: 130–31) assigned the opening section to the Priestly source, while also suggesting the possibility that 13:15–33 may be a later supplement because of the references to Sihon (13:20) and Og (13:30–33) and the notice that Moses distributed the land east of the Jordan (14:3). He also concluded that 13:15–33 disrupted the order of land distribution in the original Priestly source (= Josh 15 [minus vv. 13–19]; 16:1–18; 17:1–10; 18:1, 11; 19 [minus vv. 49–50]; 20 [various additions]; 21; 22:9–34).

The focus on the Priestly authorship of Josh 13 changed with the introduction of tradition history. Noth (1971b: 73–83) followed previous interpreters in dividing Josh 13 between the commission (13:1–14) and the description of tribal territories east of the Jordan River (13:15–33). But he introduced a distinct history of composition, arguing that the description of the eastern tribal land was not the product of the Priestly author, but a historical-geographical document of borders and city lists that lacked all legendary material, such as the conquest of Sihon and Og (1971b: 78). The document was refashioned by the Deuteronomist into a single divine speech that included the commission of Joshua (13:1ab*b*, 7) and the land distribution on the eastern side of the Jordan River (13:8ab*a*, parts of 15–33). The same Deuteronomistic author also created the present order of land distribution in Joshua, in which the eastern tribes (Josh 13) precede the western (Josh 14–19). The Deuteronomistic version (13:1ab*b*, 7, 15–33) underwent a further expansion when a post-Deuteronomistic author added the description of the land not yet conquered (13:1b*b*–6), the summary of the land east of the Jordan River (13:8b*b*–13), further geographical details (e.g., Aroer, Gilead, Geshur, Maacah, tent villages of Jair, and so on; 13:9, 11a, 13, 30b), and the notice that the Levites lacked land (13:14, 33).

Noth's identification of an original geographical document became a point of debate. Mowinckel (1946: 11–19) countered that the border information in 13:15–33 was too general and imprecise to have originated from a document. Mowinckel reasserted the primary role of the Priestly author, but he identified the location and the time of composition to be Jerusalem during the postexilic period, rather than the traditional location of the diaspora during the exile (1946: 6). The postexilic composition was theoretical and ideal, based loosely on a mixture of ethnological traditions from the Davidic monarchy to the time of Josiah. The lack of precision in the borders (13:15–33) resulted from the gap in time between the monarchic period and the postexilic setting of the author, as well as the literary aim of the author to write a theoretical geography of the tribal boundaries (1946: 24, 34–36).

The contrasting interpretations of source criticism and tradition history provide background for evaluating the literary structure and the composition of Josh 13. The structure distinguishes between the divine commission (13:1–7) and the distribution of land to the eastern tribes (13:8–33). The transition from the divine commission to the description of the land and allotment is broken off in the MT of 13:8: "With him, the Reubenites and the Gadites." The LXX provides the more complete transition: "But to the two tribes and the half-tribe of Manasse, to Rouben and to Gad." In both cases, however, the divine command (13:1–7) gives way to third-person narrative in 13:8–33 to summarize Moses's past conquest and the distribution of the land to the eastern tribes (see the "Notes"). The change in literary style indicates that the commission does not include the general description of conquered territory in 13:8–14, as argued by Wellhausen, Kuenen, Noth, and others. All of 13:8–33 shifts in literary style to third-person narrative, and it functions as a single section that includes the summary of land conquered by Moses (13:8–14) and the allotment of land to the eastern tribes (13:15–33).

The divine commission to Joshua (13:1–7) contains a history of composition (e.g., Soggin, 1972: 151–52; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 206–8; Nelson, 1997: 164–65). The original commission to Joshua included 13:1a, 7; it began with the notice of Joshua's old age (1:1a), and it concluded with the divine command that Joshua divide the land west of the Jordan (1:7). The divine commission (13:1a, 7) functions as one of three introductions that structure the distribution of land to the tribes in Josh 13–19. The two others are introductions to the allotment of land to Judah and the sons of Joseph (14:1–5) and to the remaining tribes (18:1–10). The three introductions share similar themes. The motifs of "land division" (*ḥālaq*) and "inheritance" (*nāḥal*) and the concept of the twelve-tribe system in the opening introduction (13:1a, 7) repeat in the two subsequent introductions (*ḥālaq,* 13:7; 14:5; 18:2, 10 [verb]; 14:4; 18:7, 10 [noun]; and *nāḥal,* 14:1 [verb]; 13:7; 14:2, 3; 18:2, 4, 7 [noun]). The same motifs appear in the conclusion to the distribution of land in 19:51, signaling the completion of the process of "land division" (*ḥālaq*) and "inheritance" (*nāḥal*). For further discussion, see the "Composition" to Josh 14, 16–17, 18.

The introduction of 13:1a, 7 undergoes a revision. Most interpreters judge 1:1b–6 to be an addition to the original divine commission, aimed at introducing unconquered territory (e.g., Fritz, 1994: 141–42; Knauf, 2008: 125–35). The theme returns at the conclusion of the distribution of land in Josh 23, providing a framework to the allocation of tribal land (Josh 13–23). Wazana (2013: 207) favored the literary unity of 13:1–7, but the contrasting motifs of conquest (13:6, "dispossessing the land" and "causing it to fall") and of land division (13:7, "dividing") favor the separate composition of 13:1b–6. Noth (1971b: 73) extended the literary analysis of 13:1b–6. He detected a history of composition based on the fact that the extremities formula ("from . . . to") included more than two components (e.g., "from . . . to . . . to"), which for Noth indicated additions. Wazana (2013: 67) countered that ancient Near Eastern texts often include more than two components in the extremities formula, thus calling into question Noth's criterion for identifying geographical additions. The research indicates the 13:1b–6 is a separate composition from 13:1a, 7, whether or not it has undergone its own history of composition. The related description of conquered land in Judg 3:1–3 raises the further question of whether Josh 13:1b–6 may be an expanded reinterpretation of this text (see Na'aman, 1986: 41–42; Wazana, 2013: 228–30).

The insertion of 13:1b–6 creates literary connections to a series of texts in the book of Joshua with a similar perspective. Noth (1971b: 73, 75) suggested the enlarged borders of the land in 13:1b–6 were related to the expansive vision of the promised land in 1:4, even though the geographical descriptions in the two texts are not the same. Schorn (1997: 173–79) added that the theme of unconquered land in 13:1b–6 referred back to the conditional view of conquest first introduced in 1:7–9. Both 1:4 and 1:7–9 are later additions (see the "Composition" to Josh 1), as is the case with 13:1b–6, suggesting the same systematic revision to the two commissions of Joshua (1:1–9 and 13:1–7). Smend (1987: 218) identified the revisions as part of a legal expansion of the entire book of Joshua, identified as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN). He identified the continuation of the revision into Josh 23, where the cautionary speech of Joshua explored the dangers of the indigenous nations who continue to live in the land. The inner-biblical link between the remaining land (13:1b–6) and the remaining nations (23:1–16) is reinforced through the repetition of Joshua's old age (13:1a, 23:1). Auld (1980: 52–53) supported the reading of Smend, adding that the method of interpolation in 13:1b–6 was identical to the revision in 1:7–9; in each case the interpolation is tied to a significant phrase in the parent text, which allows for reinterpretation—the role of law in 1:7–9 and the incompleteness of the conquest in 13:1b–6.

The literary development of 13:8–33 is more difficult to determine. The study of composition has been influenced most significantly by Noth's (1971b) theory that the original version of the eastern land contained an ancient historical-geographical document of borders and city lists. The material underwent successive additions, according to Noth, including the general introduction (13:8b*b*–13); legendary material on Sihon, Og, and the Midianites (13:21a*b*, b, 22, 27a*b*, 30a*b*, 31a); the character of Machir (13:31); the notice that the Levites did not receive land (13:14, 33); and a variety of geographical additions (e.g., "all the cities of the plain," 13:17b; the "tent villages of Jair," 13:30b). M. Wüst (1975: 119–86) carried out the methodology of Noth in the most detailed manner. He identified the original version as including the territorial description of Reuben (13:15, 16 [part], 17 [part], 19, 20 [part], and 23b) and Gad (13:24, 25 [part], 26 [part], 27 [part], and 28) (1975: 175–76). All other geographical descriptions of Reuben and Gad, the entire description of the half-tribe of Manasseh, and all of the legendary material were later additions to 13:8–33.

The reevaluation of the tribal land lists as literary creations called into question the tradition-historical research on 13:8–33, with its emphasis on recovering ancient documents based on historical geography. Na'aman (1986: 31) noted that the present form of the literature is shaped for ideological purposes, which often obscures the history behind the text. He proposed that the interpretation of land lists include a mixture of historical inquiry combined with the study of the author's historiographic purpose in shaping the literature (1986: 117; see also Lissovsky and Na'aman, 2003: 291–332, esp. 297). Wazana (2013: 11–82) emphasized the literary character of the tribal land lists even further, noting that the description of the tribal borders conforms to the ancient Near Eastern literary conventions of describing territories in which the interpretation of tribal land lists need not be tied to any particular historical period. The author's ideological conviction about the land's parameters and tribal allocations may derive from various sources in different time periods (2013: 261; see also H. N. Rösel, 2011: 214).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

The literary function of geography in Josh 13:8–33 is clarified by comparison to the related accounts in Num 32:1–5, 33–42, and Deut 3:8–17. All three accounts link the distribution of land with the war against Sihon and Og (Josh 12:1–6, Num 21:21–35, and Deut 2:4–3:7). Contrast among the versions indicates the literary design of geography throughout the stories. Comparison of Numbers and Deuteronomy highlights the different conceptions of the eastern tribes and their land; the further inclusion of Joshua demonstrates its dependence on the pentateuchal versions as the starting point for a new interpretation of the eastern tribes.

Numbers and Deuteronomy

Numbers 32 represents the earliest version of the distribution of land to the eastern tribes of Reuben and Gad (Baden, 2014: 646; compare Van Seters, 1972a). The account is confined to the introduction (32:1–5) and the conclusion (32:33–42) of the chapter. The central section (32:6–32) recounts a conflict between Moses and Reuben-Gad over participation in the conquest west of the Jordan River, which has no influence on the geography of land distribution (Dozeman, 2019b: 168–69). The land distribution to the eastern tribes undergoes revision (e.g., Gray, 1903: 306; Noth, 1968: 162–66). In the original version (32:1–5; 33 [part]; 34–38), the distribution of land focused only on Reuben and Gad, who request the land of Jazer and Gilead (32:1–5). The region is tied to an account of war against Sihon, in which Og is absent (e.g., 21:21–32). In this account, the kingdom of Sihon is located south of the Jabbok River, extending northward "from the Arnon to the Jabbok" (21:24). Sihon's kingdom corresponds to the land of Jazer and Gilead, which Reuben and Gad jointly possess (32:26, 29), with each tribe occupying distinct cities within the shared region (32:3, 34–35).

Numbers 32 undergoes a revision in 32:33 (part), 39–42, characterized by Noth (1968: 240) as an appendix (see also Wüst, 1975: 60; Marquis, 2013). Numbers 32:33 introduces "the half-tribe of Manasseh son of Joseph" and "the kingdom of Og of Bashan." The insertion of Og corresponds with his inclusion into the account of the war against Sihon (e.g., 21:33–35). The kingdom of Bashan accompanies the inclusion of Og, extending the territory of the eastern tribes north of the Jabbok River, allowing for the inclusion of the half-tribe of Manasseh. Numbers 32:39–42 contains a separate conquest account of Machir, Jair, and Nobah north of the Jabbok River, which disrupts the narrative of Num 32. The war against Sihon and Og is completed earlier in Num 32, leaving no reason for the further account of conquest at the end of the chapter. Moreover, the statement that Machir invaded the northern area of Gilead (32:39) introduces confusion in the geography. In the original account of Num 32, Gilead was a southern region occupied by Reuben and Gad (32:1–5), but with the addition of 32:39–42, Gilead is a northern territory that Moses gives to Machir son of Manasseh. The contradiction in the location of Gilead remains unresolved in Num 32.

The conflicting identification of Gilead in Num 32 is likely the result of the influence of Deut 3:8–17. Like Num 32, Deut 3:8–17 is an account of the distribution of land to the eastern tribes, and it also contains a history of composition, including the original version (3:8–11, 13b–17) and an addition (3:12–13a). The original version begins in v. 8 with the temporal clause "at that time we took the land." The text divides between the description of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og (3:8–11, 13b–14) and the allocation of the land to the tribes (3:15–17). The kingdoms of Sihon and Og extend northward "from the Wadi Arnon to Mount Hermon" (3:8); together they encompass three regions—"all of the tableland, all of Gilead, and all of Bashan to Salecah and Edrei" (3:10). Deuteronomy 3:15–17 completes the account by describing the allocation of the land to the tribes, in which Gilead is a region north of the Jabbok River given to Machir (3:15), which echoes the addition to Num 32 (vv. 39–42). Reuben and Gad receive the southern land "from Gilead to the Wadi Arnon" (3:16). The northern location of Gilead in Deut 3:8–11, 13b–17 contrasts to the original version of Num 32, in which Gilead is a region south of the Jabbok River associated with Reuben and Gad.

Deuteronomy 3:12–13a is an addition that redefines the territory of Gilead, with the aim of harmonizing the conflicting accounts of land distribution in Num 32 and in Deut 3:8–11, 13b–17. The addition is signaled in v. 12 by the repetition of the temporal phrase "at that time" from v. 8. The word order of v. 12 is inverted in Hebrew, placing the emphasis on the land: "as for this land that we took possession of at that time." The focus on "this land" sets the stage for the redescription of the territory east of the Jordan River. The most significant change is the division of Gilead into two regions; it remains a northern region, as in the original account of Deut 3:8–11, 13b–17, but it is now also extended southward, as in the original version of Num 32. The addition states that the territory of Reuben and Gad extends "from Aroer, which is on the Wadi Arnon" as before (3:16), but now it also includes "half of the hill country of Gilead and its towns" (3:12). The "remainder of Gilead and all of Bashan" represent the land given to the half-tribe of Manasseh (3:13a). Although the identification of half of Gilead as a region south of the Jabbok River departs from the geography of Deut 3:8–11, 13b–17, in so doing it also forges links to the geography of Num 32.

Joshua

The conquest of Sihon and Og and the distribution of land to the eastern tribes are closely related in the book of Joshua, as is the case in Numbers and Deuteronomy.

The conquest is recounted in 12:1–6, and the distribution of land to the eastern tribes follows in Josh 13. Speeches by Rahab (2:10) and the Gibeonites (9:10) provide a point of departure for interpretation. Rahab notes the fear of the indigenous nations upon hearing of the destruction of the two Amorite kings (2:10). Her confession is echoed by the Gibeonites, who include the additional information that Og of Bashan lived in Ashtaroth and Edrei (9:10). Edrei is mentioned several times in the core stories of the Pentateuch; it is the location for the battle with Og (Num 21:33, Deut 3:1); it is also identified as Og's city in the account of land distribution (Deut 3:10). But the identification of Og with Ashtaroth is absent in the pentateuchal accounts of war (Num 21:21–35, Deut 2:24–3:7) and of land distribution (Num 32; Deut 3:8–17). Thus, the presence of Ashtaroth in the speech of the Gibeonites is an innovation in Joshua beyond the core pentateuchal stories. Ashtaroth appears only once in the Pentateuch, in the opening section of the book of Deuteronomy, where Og is described as reigning in both Edrei and Ashtaroth (Deut 1:4). The appearance of Ashtaroth in the Gibeonite speech (Josh 9:10) indicates that the author of Joshua has expanded the core pentateuchal stories of war (Num 21:21–35, Deut 3:24–3:7) to include the additional information from Deut 1:4 (Mittmann, 1975: 12–13). The same expansion appears in the summary of the defeat of Sihon and Og in Josh 12:1–6. Here too Og is identified with the cities of both Ashtaroth and Edrei (12:4), reinforcing the conclusion that the book of Joshua provides a comprehensive account of all available information on Og from the Pentateuch, including the core pentateuchal versions (Num 21:21–35, Deut 2:24–3:7) and the additional information on Og (Deut 1:4).

The influence of the Pentateuch on Joshua is also evident in the geographical description of Sihon's and Og's kingdoms in the account of war (12:1–6). This account shares many of the standard geographical motifs from the pentateuchal versions of war (Num 21:21–35, Deut 2:24–3:17), such as the Wadi Arnon as the southernmost border of Sihon's kingdom (Josh 12:1, Num 21:24, Deut 2:24); the Jabbok River as Sihon's northern border with the Ammonites (Josh 12:3, Num 21:24, Deut 2:36); Bashan as Og's land (Josh 12:4, Num 21:33, Deut 3:1), with Mount Hermon as his northernmost border (Josh 12:5, Deut 3:8); and so forth. But this account also describes Gilead as two regions spanning territory north and south of the Jabbok River, with the further identification of the half-tribe of Manasseh as possessing the northern half of Gilead. Sihon's kingdom includes the standard place-names such as Heshbon, Aroer, the Wadi Arnon, and the Jabbok River; but the author also states that this territory constitutes "half of Gilead" (12:2). In the same manner, Og's kingdom includes Ashtaroth, Edrei, Mount Hermon, Salecah and Bashan, and "half of Gilead to the boundary of King Sihon" (12:4–5).

The mention of half of Gilead (12:2, 5), the half-tribe of Manasseh (12:6), and the city of Ashtaroth (12:4) indicates correspondence in the description of Sihon's and Og's kingdoms with late motifs from the Pentateuch (e.g., Deut 1:4, 3:12–13a). The motifs are thoroughly integrated into the composition of Josh 12:1–6; they are not later additions to the text (compare Noth, 1971b: 71). The description of Gilead as having northern and southern regions provides the framework for the author of Joshua to incorporate geographical information from both Num 32 and Deut 3:8–17. But the author refashions the material into a new account of land distribution in Josh 13:8–33, in which Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh are separated into distinct regions, in contrast to the placement of Reuben and Gad into the same region in the pentateuchal versions. Ashtaroth as Og's city is stated both in the introductory summary (13:12) and in the more detailed account of land distribution (13:31). Gilead, as divided territory, also continues in the description of Og's kingdom as "half of Gilead" (13:31), while other uses of Gilead reflect the same broad distribution, designating land both north (13:11) and south (13:25) of the Jabbok River. Finally, the half-tribe of Manasseh is firmly established as the recipient of Og's kingdom both in the general introduction (13:8) and in the more detailed account of land distribution (13:29 [twice]). In fact, it is the book of Joshua that solidifies the half-tribe of Manasseh as the occupant of Og's kingdom, underscoring seventeen times its central role as an eastern tribe (1:12; 4:12; 12:6; 13:7, 8, 29 [twice]; 18:7; 21:5, 6, 25, 27; 22:9, 10, 13, 15, 21; see the "Comments"). The prominent role of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Joshua is also in contrast to its limited (and late) appearance in Numbers (32:33, 34:13) and in Deuteronomy (3:13, 29:8). Finally, the author of Joshua also includes the further clarification beyond the pentateuchal accounts that the half-tribe of Manasseh is the same as half of Machir (13:31).

The redescription of Gilead as consisting of two half-regions (Deut 3:12–13a) is especially important to the author of Joshua; it provides the framework for creating a more detailed account of land distribution in which Gad and Reuben become separate regions. The author of Joshua accomplishes this goal by fashioning a new area for Gad (13:24–28) distinct from Reuben (13:15–23). The creation of the new region is accomplished through the reinterpretation of Num 32. The description of Gad as including the "region of Jazer and all the towns of Gilead" (13:25) is a rewriting of Num 32:1, where "the land of Jazer and the land of Gilead" included the regions of both Reuben and Gad (Wüst, 1975: 165–66). The author of Joshua separates the two tribes by attributing this region to Gad alone. The new region of Gad is defined further by the reinterpretation of Gad's cities from Num 32:34–36. Joshua retains some of the cities for Gad, including Jazer (13:25), Beth-nimrah (13:27), and Beth-haran (13:27). But the author also transfers the more southern Gadite cities of Dibon and Aroer to Reuben (13:16). The selective reassignment of the cities from Num 32 aids in clarifying the new region of Gad as the area that encompasses half of Gilead south of the Jabbok River, with the area of Reuben even farther south, extending to the Arnon (see the "Comments").

The comparison of the wars against Sihon and Og and the distribution of land to the eastern tribes indicates the dependence of the author of Joshua on the Pentateuch. The innovation of the author in building upon the division of Gilead to separate Gad from Reuben becomes the standard description of the eastern tribes, replacing the pentateuchal accounts of land distribution, where the two tribes shared the same territory. The success of the author of Joshua is evident in 1 Chr 5:1–26, which follows the geography of Joshua, rather than that of the Pentateuch. First Chronicles 5:1–26 also describes Reuben and Gad as occupying separate regions, but in this version, Gilead undergoes yet a further reinterpretation. Now the northern region of Gilead is the territory of Gad (1 Chr 5:16) and the southern half is the residency of Reuben (1 Chr 5:9–10). This text illustrates that the innovation of the author of Joshua has become fixed tradition in the postexilic period, even while the geography of the tribal territory continues to undergo reinterpretation into the Hellenistic period.

Comments

BORDERS AND TERRITORY

Joshua 13 begins the extended section on the tribal allotment of the land in Josh 13–19. The description of the tribal land varies widely, from the detailed borders and the city lists of Judah (15:1–63) to the brief outline of Issachar (19:17–23). A central motif throughout the varied descriptions is the Hebrew word *gĕbûl,* which may indicate a general region or a specific border. The two meanings are not the same, nor are they interchangeable (Wazana, 2013: 12; see "Territory and Territoriality" in the "Introduction"). The literary evaluation of the word *gĕbûl* in Josh 13 clarifies that the motif is used for the most part to describe regions rather than specific borders, suggesting that the eastern tribal land is functioning more as a general frontier than as a clearly defined tribal territory (Wazana, 2013: 11–57). The motif occurs ten times in Josh 13: twice in the description of the remaining land (13:3, 4), three times in the general description of the region east of the Jordan River (13:10, 11, 16), once in the allotment of Reuben (13:23), three times in the allotment to Gad (13:25, 26, 27), and once in the allotment to Manasseh (13:30). The meaning "region" is evident in 13:3, 4, and 26, where *gĕbûl* is used within the rhetorical device of a spatial merism—a geographical figure of speech in which the totality of an area is identified by enumerating its parts (see the "Introduction"). This is evident in 13:3 ("*from* Shihor . . . *to* the territory of Ekron"), 13:4 ("*from* the south . . . *to* the territory of the Amorites"), and 13:26 ("*from* Mahanaim *to* the territory of Lidbir"). Additional references to "regions" likely include the limit of Sihon's kingdom "to the region of the Ammonites" (13:10), "the region of the Geshurites" (13:11), the general "region" of the eastern tribes (13:16), the "region" of Gad (13:25), the "region" of Lidbir (13:26), perhaps the "region" of the Sea of Chinnereth (13:27), and the "region" of Manasseh (13:30). *Gĕbûl* likely means "border" in 13:23 where the Jordan River and its "banks" are described as the western border of Reuben.

The aim of the geographical literature in Josh 13 is to sketch out the region east of the Jordan; it is not to provide clearly defined borders between established territories. The use of *gĕbûl* to designate regions reinforces the conclusion that the separation of the tribal areas of Reuben and Gad are innovations in Joshua. In each case, the author is carving out new areas rather than refining or adjusting tribal borders from a previous source document.

13:1–7. JOSHUA AND THE LAND WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

Character of Joshua

The book of Joshua falls into two parts: the conquest of the land (Josh 1–12) and the distribution of the tribal territory (Josh 13–24). Each half of the book begins with divine instruction to the hero, Joshua, which is intended to introduce the central themes. Joshua 1–12 begins with the divine commission in 1:1–9 to conquer the land, while Josh 13–24 begins with the command in 13:1–7 to divide the land west of the Jordan River. The two divine commands provide a parallel structure to the book. But closer reading indicates that the parallel ceases at this point. In Josh 1–12, the Deity remains an active character, addressing Joshua on a number of topics regarding the conquest of the land, including holy war (8:1, 8; 10:8; 11:6), the ark (3:7, 4:15), the memorial stones at the Jordan River (4:1), circumcision (5:2, 9), the function of trumpets during the procession around Jericho (6:2–5), and the problem of sacrilege in the story of Achan (7:10–13). In Josh 13–24, by contrast, the divine instruction to Joshua ceases after the opening command to divide the land west of the Jordan (13:1–7). There is one additional divine discourse to Joshua concerning the appointment of the cities of refuge in 20:1–6, but this address is not so much a speech with new information as it is a reiteration of past revelation contained in Mosaic law: "Give yourselves cities of refuge as I spoke to you by the hand of Moses" (20:2). The overview brings into view a literary strategy in which direct divine revelation to Joshua fades from the conquest (Josh 1–12) to the allotment of the land (Josh 13–24).

The changing role of divine revelation transforms the nature of leadership and the character of divine authority in the book of Joshua. The leadership of Joshua in Josh 1–12 is modeled on the person of Moses; Joshua is described as his assistant who represents a direct link to the original power of Moses (1:1). Both Moses and Joshua are charismatic leaders who interact directly with God. Both receive divine commissions with promises of active divine presence (Exod 3–4; Josh 1:2–9). Both characters also undergo transformation through an experience of theophany (Exod 3–4; Josh 5:12–15), empowering them to be leaders in war (Deut 2:24–3:17; Josh 10–11) who eventually become cult founders (Exod 25–40; Josh 8:30–35). This portrait exemplifies the ways in which Joshua is the "prophet like Moses."

The leadership of Joshua in Josh 13–24 is different. He is no longer the charismatic warrior but is now "old," and his guidance becomes administrative. The change signals a transition in how Joshua receives divine revelation and leads the tribes. As a warrior, he experienced a series of immediate encounters with God; in his role as administrator, revelation is confined to the past experiences of Moses now codified as law. As a result, the authority of Joshua no longer arises from sharing in the same type of experiences as Moses; rather, his authority comes from his ability to relate to past revelation through the study of the commands and the laws of Moses. The result is that Mosaic law becomes the primary source of religious authority in the second half of the book, when the emphasis falls on tribal identity in diverse geographical locations (Ballhorn, 2011: 246). Joshua 13–24 explores the challenges that arise when Israel is defined as a tribal people who live in diverse geographical environments and belong to distinct communities, while they adhere to the same Mosaic law.

The role of Joshua also changes from the charismatic "prophet like Moses" to the arbitrator of land claims among the tribes. The role of the arbitrator of land has a parallel in the Greek amphictyonic league, where land claims were also resolved through the office of arbitration (Tod, 1913: 54–55, 96). The portrait of Joshua as a legal arbitrator among the tribes emerges already at the outset of the book in his initial commission in 1:7–9 (Farber, 2016: 15–85) and in his address to the eastern tribes in 1:13–16. It becomes central in the allocation of land in Josh 13–24. Joshua arbitrates the division of the western land by lot (14:2, 5); he allocates land to Caleb (15:6–11); and he settles the dispute over the land claims of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:4). Throughout these actions, Joshua corresponds to the Greek arbitrators, who also settled land disputes among the members of the amphictyonic league, sometimes commissioning surveys and at other times employing the lot to determine boundaries.

Remaining Land

Joshua 13:1a, 7 is a divine command for Joshua to divide the land west of the Jordan River (13:7). The original introduction (13:1a, 7) frames an insertion that describes the land that remains to be conquered (13:1b–6). The insertion interjects the theme of conquest into what had been a speech about land division, when the Deity promises to conquer the nations within the remaining land: "I am dispossessing them from before the Israelites." The unconquered region is carved out on the southern (13:2–3) and the northern (13:4–6) sections of the land west of the Jordan River. The southern region includes primarily the land of the Philistines, but also the area of the Geshurites and the Avvim. The northern land, which appears to be the point of focus of the author (Auld, 2005: 173), includes the regions of the Canaanites and the Sidonians, the land of the Gebalites, and Lebanon (see the "Notes"). The theme of unconquered land is unexpected. The success of the conquest was underscored in 11:21–23 with the conclusion that "Joshua took the whole land." Thus, there is no remaining land at the conclusion of Joshua 1–12, making the description of unconquered territory a point of tension in the larger narrative. Even the word used to describe the remaining land is unusual (13:1b). The verb *šāʾar,* "remain," in the Niphal normally describes people as survivors or as a remnant, especially in the postexilic period; it does not describe unconquered land (Japhet, 2004). In fact, Josh 13:1b is the only occurrence where the verb describes land.

The theme of the remaining land raises the question of its purpose in the larger design of the book of Joshua, as well as the time of the book's composition. Interpreters debate a variety of geopolitical settings to account for the regions in 13:1b–6. Knauf (2008: 129) placed the composition in the late Second Temple period around 200 BCE when Jews controlled the Phoenician area, since this is the focus of the remaining land in the north. K. van Bekkum (2012: 352) argued instead that the remaining land represented the memory of the Egyptian province from the Late Bronze period regardless of when the text was inserted into the book of Joshua. Na'aman (1986: 39–40) concluded that the remaining land was intended to address gaps between two of the three divergent territorial conceptions of the promised land in the Hebrew Bible: (1) The "land of Canaan" represented the configuration of local inhabitants at the time of settlement (e.g., Num 34, Ezek 47); (2) the "tribes of Israel" represented the period of David and Solomon (e.g., Josh 13–19); and (3) the "Patriarchal" concept of the land represented the Across the River province common in Deuteronomistic literature. The remaining land in 13:1b–6 was intended to fill in the gaps between the "land of Canaan" and the "tribes of Israel," utilizing geographical information from the period of the united monarchy. The "Patriarchal" map plays no role in the composition of 13:1b–6, according to Na'aman (1986: 39–60). Ballhorn (2011: 242) disagreed. He argued that the south-north orientation of the description of the remaining land favored a comparison to the "Patriarchal" conception of the promised land, noting in particular the similarity to 1:4, where the southern border extends to the Nile and the northern border reaches into Phoenicia and beyond (see also Noth, 1971b: 75).

Wazana and Smend provide the general framework for my interpretation. Wazana (2013: 239) argued that 13:1–7 is a promissory document written independently from any specific geopolitical context to introduce the theme of the postponement of the divine promise of land, while at the same time expanding the ideal area of the land.

The purpose is twofold: The unfilled promise underscores that the claim to land is neither unconditional nor a natural right; and the motif of the unrealized land allows for its future realization, perhaps by exiles, which may account for the unusual use of the Hebrew *šāʾar* (see Japhet, 2004). Smend (1987) represented a similar interpretation as that of Wazana, but he placed the theme of the remaining land within the broader composition of the book of Joshua. He identified the description of the remaining land as part of a larger revision of the book, which included the conditional promise of success in the conquest based on the observance of law (1:7–9) and Joshua's warning in his closing speech about the danger of the indigenous nations who continue to live in the land (23:1–16). These texts introduce two new themes into the book of Joshua. The first reinterprets the unconditional promise of land (1:1–6) with a conditional promise based on law (1:7–9), and the second redefines the completed conquest (11:23–25) as only partially successful (13:1b–6). The new motifs are part of a postexilic revision of Joshua, identified as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN). The conditional promise of land and the incomplete conquest provide the basis for Joshua's extended warning to the Israelites later in the book (23:1–16) about the lingering danger posed by the remaining nations. The themes of the remaining land (13:1b–6) and the remaining nations (23:1–16) frame the second half of the book, while the repeated reference to Joshua's old age (13:1a, 23:1) draws the two texts together into a close literary relationship (Wazana, 2013: 231; and 2014). The result is that the introduction of the remaining land (13:1b–6) not only qualifies the previous account of the successful conquest (e.g., 11:23–25); it also provides the setting for Joshua's later command that the people separate themselves from the indigenous nations who remain in the land (23:1–16).

The description of the remaining land (13:1b–6) may also be an inner-biblical interpretation of Judg 3:1–3, where indigenous nations are also described as living in the tribal lands. The orientation of the two texts is different, however. Judges 3:1–3 focuses on the remaining indigenous nations who will test the Israelites' ability to undertake war; while Josh 13:1b–6 concentrates instead on the remaining land that Yahweh, not Israel, will conquer. In spite of the divergent points of view, the two texts share a series of references, including the five lords of the Philistines (Josh 13:3, Judg 3:3), the Canaanites (Josh 13:4, Judg 3:3), the Sidonians (Josh 13:6, Judg 3:3), Lebanon (Josh 13:6, Judg 3:3), Lebo-hamath (Josh 13:5, Judg 3:3), and Mount Baal-hermon/Baal-gad below Mount Hermon (Josh 13:6, Judg 3:3). The literary dependence is reinforced, according to Wazana (2013: 230), by the fact that these are the only texts in the Hebrew Bible to describe unconquered land on the periphery of the promised land. The direction of the inner-biblical interpretation is debated; yet the expanded details in Josh 13:1b–6 suggest the DtrN editor of Joshua has taken over the motifs from Judg 3:1–3, where the theme of the partial conquest fits the literary context of Judges, but conflicts with Joshua.

13:8–33. MOSES AND THE LAND EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

Reuben

The identification of Reuben in history and in tradition is dependent for the most part on the biblical literature supplemented with archaeological information. Interpreters have focused on a limited number of themes to probe the possible historical background of the group and to interpret the emerging portrait of Reuben in late biblical tradition. The themes include

—the identification of Reuben as the firstborn of Jacob's sons in the birth story (Gen 29–30), genealogical lists (Gen 46, Exod 6, 1 Chr 5), census accounts (Num 1, 26), and Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49);

—the changing evaluation of Reuben from strong in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49) to weak in the Song of Moses (Deut 33);

—the association of Reuben with territory perhaps west of the Jordan in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:15–16a) and in the location of the "Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son" (Josh 15:6, 18:7), but predominantly east of the Jordan in the accounts of tribal land distribution (Num 32; Deut 2–3; Josh 1, 4, 12, 13; 1 Sam 10; 2 Kgs 10);

—conflicts in which Reuben plays a positive role in his attempt to rescue Joseph (Gen 37), but more often a negative role in sleeping with Bilhah, his father's concubine (Gen 35, 1 Chr 5); opposing the leadership of Moses (Num 16, Deut 11); building an altar with the other eastern tribes (Josh 22); and resisting the call to war west of the Jordan (Judg 5, Num 32, Deut 2);

—and the description of the tribe of Reuben as exiles who lost their land (1 Chr 5).

Historical research on the origin of Reuben has focused on the firstborn designation with loss of status and on the geographical location of the group. Noth (1983: 75–76, 88), for example, argued that Reuben was established before the other tribes, hence the firstborn status, but that the tribe faded in its leadership role in subsequent history, becoming a "shadowy" figure in the biblical tradition. Reuben was originally located west of the Jordan River, according to Noth, based on his interpretation of the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:15b–16) and on the reference to the "Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son" in the description of Judah's northern border (Josh 15:7, 18:7; see also the confusion of the family names of Reuben in the second census, Num 26:6, 21). Reuben migrated east of the Jordan River at a later date, which accounts for the lack of clarity in the location of Reuben, while any traces of Reuben west of the Jordan were absorbed into Judah (1983: 70), thus transforming what appears to be the original northern identity of Reuben with the southern tribe of Judah. Other interpreters provide variations of Noth's historical analysis (e.g., Gottwald, 1979: 253).

F. M. Cross (1988; 1998: 53–70) reevaluated the early history of Reuben within the broader context of archaeology and the history of religion east of the Jordan River. He argued for the early and dominant role of Reuben both politically and religiously, agreeing with Noth that the traditions of Reuben could "only have originated in a situation in which these tribes played an important part" (Noth, 1983: 88). He disagreed with Noth's geographical interpretation of the Song of Deborah, preferring instead to locate the history of Reuben in the eastern territory within the region of Beth-peor, where the tribe established a shrine at Mount Nebo (Cross, 1988: 52–53). The evidence is the setting of Beth-peor for the Mosaic covenant (Deut 28:69, 29:9–14); the reference to war against Israel at Nebo in the Mesha Inscription (11.14–18, *ANET* 320–21); the burial tradition of Moses at Nebo (Deut 34:6a); the account of Israel "yoked" to Baal-Peor where Moses, not Phinehas, purges the people (Num 25:1–5); parallels between the traditions of covenant at Sinai and at Baal-Peor; the positive presentation of the oracles of Balaam at Baal-Peor (Old Epic [JE] version of Num 22–24); and perhaps also the conflict over the altar (Josh 22).

Reuben originated as a "Moses group," according to Cross (1988: 61), that migrated north from the southern Midianite territory (northern Hijaz) in the Late Bronze or Early Iron period; it occupied the region surrounding Baal-Peor, including "the plateau (*mîšōr*), and the steppes (*'arbōt mô'āb*)," before the rise of the kingdoms of Edom and Moab. The traditions of "Moses and Midian in Reuben were remembered in the sanctuary traditions of Nebo and Gilgal" (1988: 61). Later Aaronide priests create polemical stories against the positive traditions of Baal-Peor (e.g., the leading role of Phinehas in Num 25:11–13; the negative interpretation of Balaam). In spite of the later critique, the "archaic traditions of events in Reuben survived" (1988: 63). L. G. Herr (1999) sought to reinforce the interpretation of Cross, identifying a cluster of settlements in the Medeba region (including a four-room house at Tell a-'Umeiri often associated with the early Israelites) as possibly representing an early proto-Israelite settlement that may correspond to aspects of the biblical portrayal of Reuben. The reading of Herr, especially the close correlation of the archaeological site with the biblical literature, has been critically evaluated by I. Finkelstein (2011b) and Dever (2017: 206–7).

The reconstructions of the early history of Reuben, based on the assumption that tribal genealogies preserved ancient tradition, have increasingly been called into question. Van Seters (1975: 169–89) challenged the argument of Wilson (1977) that tribal genealogies were similar to ancient Near Eastern genealogies in the king lists and that both were intended to preserve political relationships (see also Knoppers, 2003: 632–50). Van Seters noted that the Assyrian and Babylonian king lists were linear genealogies, not the segmented genealogies of the tribes, whose closer parallel was to the Greek genealogical tradition. The shift in comparison highlighted a different function of genealogy, since the Greeks constructed genealogies with a focus on the present social structure, rather than with the aim of preserving the past (Van Seters, 1983). I. Malkin (1994: 17) clarified the intent of the Greek tradition of genealogy, stating that it was not meant to make the inherited tradition formative in the present time. The shift in focus from the past to the present raised the question of Reuben's function in the late genealogical lists of the tribes. If it was not to preserve ancient tradition, then what social circumstance might account for the prominence of Reuben as the firstborn? A. Tobolowsky (2020), working within the Greek paradigm, argued that, although Reuben was likely tied to northern tribal traditions, southern authors in the Persian period elevated the obscure northern tribe to the position of firstborn in an attempt to create a Judean version of pan-Israelite identity that embraced the north. The southern point of view was evident, he argued, when the primacy of Reuben is followed by the southern tribes of Simeon, Levi, and Judah throughout the tribal lists.

Interpreters also shifted from tradition history to the literary study of Reuben. Schorn (1997: 92–103, 282–87), for example, highlighted several themes that shape the late literary portrait of Reuben. These include the twelve-tribe system as a conceptual framework to address decentralized and segmented society in the exilic and postexilic periods (e.g., the tribal lists, the distribution of tribal territory; see the "Introduction"), the status of Reuben as firstborn (e.g., the birth stories in Gen 29–30; the census lists in Num 1 and 26), the close tie between Reuben and the land east of the Jordan (e.g., conquest stories of Sihon), and the eastern region of Reuben as a link to Mosaic traditions concentrated in the region. These themes introduce two important issues, according to Schorn. The first is the relationship between peripheral and central authority, which is evident in the conflict over participating in the conquest of the western land (e.g., Num 32). The second is the exposure of Reuben and the other eastern tribes to the worldview of other nations, which creates potential conflict between the periphery and the center, as illustrated in the stories of the intermarriage with Moabites and Midianites (e.g., Num 25). The book of Joshua selectively develops some of these themes to present its unique portrait of Reuben.

The book of Joshua is based on the conceptual framework of the twelve-tribe system, but it does not single out Reuben as the firstborn. Reuben is identified, instead, collectively with Gad (e.g., 22:25, 32, 33, 34) and the half-tribe of Manasseh (e.g., 1:12; 4:12; 12:6; 13:8; 18:7; 20:8; 21:7; 22:1, 9, 10, 15, 21, 30, 31), all of whom are defined by their possession of eastern land that was conquered by Moses, rather than by Joshua (e.g., 1:13–17; 12:6; 13:12; 22:4–5, 9). The author's emphasis on the distribution of the eastern tribal land by Moses underscores that the land of the tribe of Reuben was established before the events in the book of Joshua (13:15, 23). In addition, the region of Reuben in the book of Joshua (13:25) lacks specific borders, yet it is clearly separated from Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh. The land of Reuben extends from the Arnon in the south to Heshbon in the north, and from the wilderness in the east to the Dead Sea in the west, with only a small portion touching the Jordan River in the northwest corner (see Kallai, 1986b: 260–61).

The conflict in the Pentateuch about whether the eastern tribes would participate in war west of the Jordan River (Num 32, Deut 2) is absent in Joshua. In fact, in the book of Joshua, the eastern tribes take the lead in encouraging Joshua to invade, pledging their support (1:12–18). The threat of foreign nations in the region of Reuben, which is prominent in Numbers (Num 22–24, 31) and in Deuteronomy (23:4), is also absent in Joshua. There is no reference to the danger of Moabite woman (Num 25:1–5); in fact, the Moabites are for the most part absent in the book of Joshua, with only two references: one geographical, "the plains of Moab" (Josh 13:32), and the other linked to the character "King Balak son of Zippor of Moab" (24:9). The traditional foreign threats associated with the region of Reuben are all absent in the book of Joshua. The author incorporates late post-Priestly tradition from the Pentateuch (Num 31:8, see also 22:7) to underscore the death of both Balaam and the five Midianite princes—Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba (Josh 13:21). Both of these motifs conflict with traditions in the Pentateuch where the Midianites (Num 31:6–30) and Balaam (Num 22–24) play an active role in the region of Reuben (Dozeman, 2008; Robker, 2013). The presentation of the Midianites and Balaam as having been killed by the Israelites presents a picture of Reuben's territory as free of the foreign influence that threatened the tribes at Baal-peor in the Pentateuch (e.g., Num 25, 31). As a result, the Reubenites dwell securely in their land under the authority of Moses, who conquered the territory and allotted it to the tribe. The only lingering conflict in Joshua involving Reuben is worship in the peripheral area and how it relates to the central cultic site at Mount Ebal in the territory of West Manasseh (see Josh 22).

Gad

The identification of Gad in history and in tradition is dependent for the most part on the biblical literature and on the reference to Gad in the Mesha Inscription—a mid-ninth-century BCE stele set up by King Mesha of Moab at his capital city of Dibon (*ANET* 320–21; Dearman, 1989). The people of Gad are located east of the Jordan in the Mesha Inscription. In the inscription, Mesha states that a northern Israelite king from the dynasty of Omri took over the city of Ataroth and that in retaliation he conquered them: "I assaulted the wall and captured it, and killed all the warriors of the city" (lines 4–9). The Mesha Inscription also includes background information on Ataroth before the Israelite fortification of the city, stating, "the men of Gad dwelled in the country of Atarot from ancient times" (lines 10–11). The statement locates an identifiable group of Gadites east of the Jordan River in the area of Ataroth in the mid-ninth century, but it also separates them from northern Israelites, whose incursion into Ataroth initiated Mesha's attack. A related account of the war between Israel and King Mesha of Moab is also recounted in 2 Kgs 3, but it lacks reference to Ataroth and to the people of Gad (see Finkelstein and Römer, 2015).

The biblical portrait identifies Gad as the son of Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen 30:11, 35:26). Gad appears in tribal census lists (Num 1:14, 24; 26:18), camp arrangements (Num 2:14), cultic lists of tithing (Num 7:42), the order of marching (Num 10:20), and the spy story (Num 13:15). The only characterization of Gad appears in the Blessing of Jacob, where Gad is described as raiding and being raided (Gen 49:19), and in the Song of Moses, where Gad is described as a hunting lion (Deut 33:20). With the exception of its location in Ezekiel (48:27), the land of Gad is east of the Jordan River as in the Mesha Inscription, although the location changes. Gad and Reuben share the same general territory in Numbers (32:1, 29, 31, 33; 34:14) and in Deuteronomy (3:12, 16; 4:43). Joshua 13 separates the shared territory of the two tribes, placing Gad north of Reuben, which conflicts with the more southern location of Gad in the Mesha Inscription. In Chronicles, the territory of Gad is placed even farther north in Bashan (1 Chr 5:11).

The aim of the author in Josh 13:24–28 is to clarify the separate region of Gad in a two-part description: Verse 25 provides a general description, and vv. 26–27 provide additional details of the region. The study of composition clarified that the description of Gad in Josh 13:25 as including the "region of Jazer and all the towns of Gilead" is a rewriting of Num 32:1, "the land of Jazer and the land of Gilead," where Gilead represented the region south of the Jabbok River as the residence of both Gad and Reuben (Wüst, 1975: 165–66). The inner-biblical connection clarifies that the reference to Gilead in Josh 13:25 remains confined to land south of the Jabbok River, but in contrast to Num 32:1, this area is now attributed to the tribe of Gad alone.

Many of the locations attributed to Gad remain obscure; only four of the twelve towns listed in Josh 13:25–27 have been clearly located (Rabbah, Heshbon, Mahanaim, and Succoth). In spite of the lack of precision, a picture of the region of Gad emerges. Joshua 13:25 states that the region includes half of Ammon (see also Jer 49:1, which also relates Gad with the Ammonites). The area extends eastward to Aroer, a city near Rabbah (contemporary Amman), distinct from the more southern city of Aroer on the Arnon associated with Reuben (13:16). Joshua 13:26 adds that the land of Gad extends "from Heshbon to Ramath-mizpeh" and "from Mahanaim to the territory of Lidbir." Joshua 13:27 includes the city list of Beth-haran, Beth-nimrah, Succoth, and Zaphan, all within the kingdom of Sihon. Finally, the author also assigns the Jordan Valley to Gad extending northward to the Sea of Chinnereth. The prominent use of spatial merism in 13:26–27 indicates the geographical information is aimed at clarifying the region of Gad, rather than describing specific borders.

East Manasseh

The region of East Manasseh in 13:29–31 is vague; it includes "comprehensive territories that are not closely defined," according to Kallai (1986b: 272). The description separates into three parts: The "half-tribe of Manasseh" is identified as the occupant of the land (13:29); the region is described as including "all of Bashan," with Havvoth-jair and sixty cities, "half of Gilead," and the capital cities of Og at Ashtaroth and Edrei (13:30–31a); and the occupants are once again identified (13:31b). The study of composition clarified the innovation of the author in using two regions of Gilead to separate the eastern tribes from each other geographically, with the result that the half-tribe of Manasseh and Gad divide Gilead, while Reuben resides farther south (see "Composition"). The author also introduces new information on the identity of the residents, stating that the "half-tribe of Manasseh" (13:29) is in fact "half of the sons of Machir" (13:31b).

The portrait of Machir in the Hebrew Bible is complex. The most prominent presentation of Machir is as the first son of Manasseh born in Egypt (Gen 50:23); this identification is reinforced in a variety of Priestly and post-Priestly genealogical lists, where Machir is presented as the firstborn son of Manasseh (e.g., Num 26:29–34, 27:1, 36:1; Josh 17:1; see also 1 Chr 7:14–19). But interpreters question whether Machir may have functioned as a distinct group at an earlier stage of tradition history, on the basis of the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:1–31), where Machir is one of the groups that answered the call to war: "[F]rom Machir marched down the commanders" (Judg 5:14). The Song of Deborah represents early tradition (e.g., Sparks, 1998: 109–21; Fleming, 2012: 64–66, 68–69; Knauf, 2005), and interpreters have noted that Manasseh is absent from the poem, raising the question of whether Machir may be an older identification of a group that later became Manasseh. The geographical sequence in the Song of Deborah from Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, and Zebulun provides some support for this theory, since it would appear to place Machir on the western side of the Jordan River in the general location of Manasseh. Thus, Noth (1971a: 2:61–62; and 1981a: 42) interpreted Machir as a group occupying land west of the Jordan before migrating east. The portions of Machir that remained west of the Jordan were absorbed into Manasseh, while the eastern portion was eventually subordinated to Manasseh, with Machir becoming the firstborn son (see the variation of this model in de Vaux, 1978: 586–89, 785; compare Kallai, 1986b: 139–40).

The conquest of Og in Num 32:39–42 and in Deut 3:13b–17 also suggests an independent tradition of Machir on the east side of the Jordan, which becomes absorbed into the later tradition of the "half-tribe of Manasseh." Deuteronomy 3:13b–17 describes Machir as occupying Gilead, while the addition in Deut 3:12–13a introduces the identification of "the half-tribe of Manasseh." Numbers 32:33–42 contains a similar development, in which Machir's conquest of Gilead (32:39–42) is also attributed to the "half-tribe of Manasseh" (32:33). The book of Joshua does not include the same literary development between Machir and the half-tribe of Manasseh; Joshua lacks all signs of a separate account of Machir's conquest of Og's kingdom. Furthermore, the author of Joshua also resolves the literary tensions from the Pentateuch by clarifying that "half of the sons of Machir" are the "half-tribe of Manasseh" (see also the "Comments" to Josh 17).

The "half-tribe of Manasseh" occurs thirty-three times in the Hebrew Bible; it is concentrated in the books of Joshua (nineteen occurrences) and 1 Chronicles (ten occurrences), with the remaining four occurrences in the Pentateuch (Num 32:33, 34:14; Deut 3:13, 29:8). The distribution underscores the near absence of the motif in the Pentateuch, where it is a late addition to the accounts of land distribution in both Num 32 and Deut 3:8–17. The study of composition clarified that in each case the insertion of the half-tribe of Manasseh creates literary tensions within the larger narrative (see "Composition"). Numbers 32 was originally an account of the defeat of Sihon and the distribution of his kingdom to Reuben and Gad (Num 32:1–5, 33 [part], 34–38). The expansion of the conquest from Sihon to Og resulted in the clarification that Moses gave Og's kingdom "to the half-tribe of Manasseh" (32:33 [part]). Deuteronomy 3:8–11, 13b–17 always included the defeat of Sihon and Og, but the addition of Deut 3:12–13a also clarifies that Moses gave "the half-tribe of Manasseh the rest of Gilead [the northern half] and all of Bashan, Og's kingdom" (3:13a).

The half-tribe of Manasseh is not a late addition in the book of Joshua, as it is in the Pentateuch; rather, it is a central motif throughout the book. The eastern half-tribe of Manasseh appears in the opening chapter, when it joins Reuben and Gad in supporting Joshua (1:12) and in crossing the Jordan River for war (4:12). Joshua 13 builds on the conception of Manasseh as a divided tribe, when the Deity commands Joshua at the outset of chapter 13 to allot the western land "into an inheritance for the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh" (13:7). The division continues in the summary of Moses's conquest east of the Jordan, when the region of the half-tribe of Manasseh (13:29–31) is thoroughly integrated with Reuben and Gad into the literary structure of land distribution in Josh 13. The concept of Manasseh as including western and eastern regions continues throughout the remainder of the book in the allotment of land to the western half-tribe of Manasseh (17:7), in the distribution of the Levitical cities to the western and eastern portions of Manasseh (21:5, 6, 25, 27), and in the conflict over worship between the eastern and western tribes (22:1, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 21).

The conception of Manasseh as a divided tribe is thoroughly integrated into the composition of the book. The author of Joshua is aware of the traditions of Machir in the Pentateuch; this is evident from the new information that equates the eastern "half-tribe of Manasseh" (13:29) with "half of the sons of Machir" (13:31b). The author will return to the motif of the split tribe of Manasseh in the story of Zelophehad's daughters (17:1–6) to address the problem of land inheritance between diaspora and homeland members of the same tribe who are related by genealogy but separated by geography. Finally, Manasseh is singled out in the account of the conflict over the altar, where the western half-tribe is described as the stewards of the temple treasury, who possess the precious metals (22:7–8).

EASTERN REGION

The land east of the Jordan was conflicted land throughout the history of ancient Israel. The Transjordanian kingdoms of Ammon, Moab, and Edom emerged and declined

during the Iron Age, paralleling the rise and fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (e.g., Routledge, 2004: 58–212; Bartlett, 1990; Edelman, ed., 1995). The Hebrew Bible contains many accounts of conflict in the region. The Deuteronomistic History includes accounts of war by Saul (1 Sam 11) and David (2 Sam 10) against Ammonite kings, and Jephthah's conflict with the Ammonites over the territory of Gilead (Judg 11). The prophetic tradition contains many war oracles against Moab (e.g., Jer 48; Zeph 2:8–11), Ammon (e.g., Amos 1:11; Jer 49; Ezek 21:28), and Edom (Isa 34, Jer 49). The Mesha Inscription and the account of war between king Jehoram and Mesha (2 Kgs 3) contain versions from contrasting points of view about a conflict between Israel and Moab in the mid-ninth century BCE (Finkelstein and Römer, 2015).

The conflicts over land east of the Jordan River created ambiguity with regard to the identity of the groups living in the region, who likely maintained cultural and economic ties both to the Israelites and to the Ammonites and Moabites (Hutton, 2009a: 60). The Mesha Inscription provides insight into the ambiguity surrounding identity when it separates the people of Gad from the northern Israelite nation; the former are described as indigenous to the area, while the latter are invaders. The land east of the Jordan remains conflicted territory in the book of Joshua, but the focus of conflict is redirected inward to explore the relationship between the eastern and western tribes, rather than the threat of other nations. The region of the Transjordan is for the most part empty of foreign nations in Joshua. The insertion describing the remaining land (13:1b–6) locates the Geshurites and Maacathites in the northern region of Mount Hermon (13:13), but they play no active role. The traditional Transjordanian nations of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, who were regularly in conflict with Israel over control of the land, also play no role in the book. The territory of Edom is transplanted from the eastern to the western side of the Jordan, where twice it designates the southern border of Judah (15:1, 21; see also the story of Caleb as an Edomite in Josh 14–15), leaving only Moab and Ammon as Transjordanian nations within the narrative world of the book of Joshua. The Moabite nation is nearly absent in the book; it is mentioned once in the reference to "King Balak son of Zippor of Moab" (24:9) and one other time in the standard phrase "plains of Moab" to summarize Moses's distribution of land east of the Jordan (13:32). The territory of the Ammonites occurs three times: twice to describe the limit of Sihon's kingdom (12:2, 13:10) and once as the possession of Gad, who inherited "half of the land of the Ammonites until Aroer, which is before Rabbah" (13:25). The references to the border of Ammon or to the plains of Moab betray the author's geopolitical knowledge of the Transjordanian nations, but they are given no role in the narrative world of the book.

The aim of the author of Joshua is to explore how the tribes east of the Jordan River, who are unambiguously identified as "Israelite," relate to those who live west of the Jordan. The strategy for describing the internal relationship is the overarching theme of pan-Israelite identity conceived as a decentralized twelve-tribe system, in which the tribes are related by genealogy and by the possession of land. The themes of genealogy and land possession play different roles in the book of Joshua; one unifies and the other creates difference (see the "Introduction"). Genealogy unifies the twelve tribes. The identity of the eastern tribes as "Israelite" is confirmed through genealogy. The book of Joshua assumes that the "two and one-half eastern tribes" and the "nine and one-half western tribes" constitute the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity;

this unity is represented in the twelve stones erected at the Jordan River (4:3). The genealogical relationship of the twelve tribes, as the foundation of pan-Israelite identity, is so firmly established in the book that it never emerges as a topic for detailed clarification beyond the repeated reference to the twelve tribes as representing "all Israel" (e.g., 3:7, 17; 4:14; 8:33).

The genealogical unity of the eastern and western tribes in Joshua is not the case in the broader literature of the Hebrew Bible. In other stories, the lack of clear genealogical identity and the mixed ethnicity among the Transjordanian residents is underscored, as illustrated, for example, in the story of Jephthah (Judg 11). In instances like Jephthah, the population of the eastern tribal territory is characterized as "half-breeds, renegades, and refugees," according to Havrelock, "who are only tacitly included in Israel" (2011: 108, and 40–63). The same suspicion of the eastern tribes lingers in the Pentateuch, when Moses questions their loyalty after they request land east of the Jordan River, even equating them at one point with the same disloyalty exhibited by the spies (Num 32:6–32). This is not the case in Joshua, where the eastern tribes are fully integrated into the twelve-tribe system, even taking a leadership role in encouraging Joshua to initiate the conquest of the west (1:16–18) and in leading the Israelites across the Jordan River (4:12). As a result, there is no genealogical uncertainty or ethnic ambiguity in the identity of the eastern tribes in Joshua; they are an organic part of the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity.

Geography establishes difference among the twelve tribes; it explores the unique identity of the tribes in general and it probes the complex relationship between the eastern and western tribes in particular. The role of geography as an indicator of difference begins with the Jordan River. The Jordan marks geographical separation in the book of Joshua as the eastern border of the "land of Canaan" (14:1) and as the western border of Reuben (12:23) and Gad (13:27). But the Jordan River also acquires symbolic meaning in Joshua, according to Y. Levin (2017: 221–34). In view of this, Ballhorn (2011: 237–39) cautions that the Jordan River should not be interpreted as a traditional geographical border. The Jordan functions instead as an internal marker of difference in Josh 13 and elsewhere in the book under the broader theme of pan-Israelite identity. The Jordan juxtaposes different perspectives on the topic of identity, according to Jobling (1986), arising from geographical locations. The narrator of Joshua is located west of the Jordan in the center of the promised land, which "all Israel" entered in crossing the river (3:1–5:1). But the Jordan River remains porous in the book of Joshua, because the residency of the twelve tribes extends "beyond the Jordan" (*bĕʿēber hayyardēn*; 13:8, 22) in the identification of the two and one-half eastern tribes. For this reason, it is difficult to characterize the function of the Jordan River in the book of Joshua. "Although the Jordan is an internal dividing line," Ballhorn (2011: 238) clarifies "it does not form a boundary." Havrelock (2011: 135) agrees, suggesting that the Jordan represents more a "ritual boundary," signifying the difference between homeland and diaspora. She writes, "[T]he tribes of Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh [are] the founders of diaspora" (2011: 107).

The eastern tribes represent the reality of the diaspora in the narrative world of the book of Joshua. The closest parallel to the portrayal of the eastern tribes in Joshua is 1 Chr 5. Chronicles is similar to Joshua in identifying Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh as the eastern tribes and in locating them in separate regions. But Chronicles adds that these tribes no longer live in their eastern allotments, because they were exiled as divine punishment for worshiping the gods of the other nations; as a consequence, they are landless exiles (1 Chr 5:25–26). The author of Joshua agrees with Chronicles that the eastern tribes must be evaluated separately from those living west of the Jordan River. But that author disagrees with the negative judgment of the eastern tribes as worshiping other gods and with the further description of them as landless exiles. At no time in the book of Joshua are the eastern tribes accused of worshiping other gods; even the debate over the altar in Josh 22 is not about the worship of other gods. The eastern tribes are portrayed instead in a positive role throughout the book; they even echo the divine command to Joshua that he be courageous in leading the twelve tribes westward across the Jordan River (1:12–13). Thus, even though the eastern tribes dwell across the Jordan River, they are not landless exiles who have lost their tribal territory. The author of Joshua addresses the complex relationship between diaspora and homeland by firmly embedding the status of the eastern tribes within the twelve-tribe system as residents east of the Jordan River. The narrative strategy underscores how genealogy unifies the twelve tribes, while geography introduces differences in their identity. The role of the geographical environment in shaping identity continues with the distinct locations of the western tribes, especially in the contrast between Judah (Josh 14–15) and the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17).

MOSAIC AUTHORITY

Geography shapes the theme of Mosaic authority in the book of Joshua. Two forms of Mosaic authority are developed in the book: the leading role of Joshua, as the successor of Moses, and the authority of the "past commands of Moses." The Mosaic authority of Joshua is established at the outset of the book when the Deity promises Joshua, "As I was with Moses, I will be with you" (1:5). When the Israelites were about to enter the western land at the Jordan River, the theme returned when the Deity repeated the promise, adding that Joshua, like Moses, would be made "great" in the eyes of the Israelites (3:7). The authority of the past commands of Moses is also established at the outset of the book when Joshua is commanded to observe the Torah of Moses (1:7), and again when the commands of Moses inform Joshua's teaching during the crossing of the Jordan (4:10). The two forms of Mosaic authority become foundational for establishing the central cultic site at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, when Joshua, the servant of Moses, is idealized as the cult founder who builds the altar for sacrifice as Moses commanded (8:31), while a copy of the Torah of Moses is also inscribed on the stones themselves (8:32).

The separation of land between the eastern and western tribes provides the setting for examining the influence of geography on the two forms of Mosaic authority. The distinction is established in the literary structure of Josh 13. The chapter opens with the divine command to Joshua, who, as the servant of Moses, must distribute the land west of the Jordan to the nine and one-half tribes (13:1–7). Joshua fades from the narrative, however, when the focus shifts to the land of the two and one-half tribes east of the Jordan River (13:8–33), who received their land from Moses (13:8). The two-part structure of Josh 13 clarifies that the eastern tribes are accountable to Moses, not Joshua, for the possession of their land; this is reinforced through repetition (e.g., 13:8 [twice], 12, 14, 15, 24, 32). For this reason, Joshua cannot distribute their land but is bound by the past commands of Moses. The limitation of Joshua's leadership was evident already at the outset of the book when he couched his initial request for assistance from the eastern tribes in the past commands of Moses: "Remember the word that Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded you" (1:12–13). The rhetoric of Joshua's request underscores that his authority, as the servant of Moses, is limited to the land west of the Jordan River and that it does not extend eastward into the territory beyond the Jordan. Only the past commands of Moses function authoritatively in the eastern regions.

A central theme throughout the book of Joshua is the clarification of the relationship between the two forms of Mosaic authority. All the tribes are unified in their adherence to the past commands of Moses, codified in the Torah of Moses; these commands guide the crossing of the Jordan (4:10), the worship practice at Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35), and the war strategy for conquest of the western land (11:12, 15, 20, 23). And when the twelve tribes march together in the west, they are also unified in following the leadership of Joshua, as the successor of Moses. Yet the active leadership of Joshua is limited geographically to the western territory, which functions as the center of religious institutions. The eastern side of the Jordan, by contrast, represents peripheral territory, where the leadership of Joshua fades and the unity of the eastern and western tribes must be negotiated on the basis of the past commands of Moses. What emerges from the contrast is the important role of the commands of Moses, codified as the Torah of Moses. These commands bind the regions together; the Torah informs the central cultic institution at Ebal and Gerizim west of the Jordan, as well as the religious obligations of the tribes east of the river. Grosby (2002: 86–88) explains that the relationship between the center and the periphery often creates the "image of stable boundaries" in order to clarify the extent of divine power required to create a "trans-local community." Grosby adds that law is often the vehicle for relating the sacred quality of a local place to a larger region in which people are dispersed.

The book of Joshua illustrates the power of law to hold together the center and the periphery among the twelve tribes. The role of the eastern tribes throughout the book explores the role of Mosaic authority as the law that unifies the twelve tribes even though they are separated geographically. Three potential areas of conflict emerge in Joshua 13–24: (1) the claim to residency west of the Jordan by a non-Israelite, Caleb, based on the past promise of Moses (14:6–15, 15:13–19); (2) the daughters of Zelophehad's claim to western land based on genealogy and the past promise of Moses (17:1–7); and (3) the need to negotiate the difference in worship practice between the eastern and the western tribes in the conflict over the altar on the basis of the past commands of Moses (22:1–34).

Judah and Caleb (14:1–15)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 14 recounts the legal claim of Caleb to a portion of Judah's territory based on the past promise of Moses (14:6, 10). The story spans Josh 14 and 15; the claim of Caleb begins in Josh 14 and ends in Josh 15:13–19, indicating that Josh 14 and 15 function as a single literary unit in the book of Joshua. Joshua 14:1–5 introduces the theme of the allotment of the land west of the Jordan River to the nine and one-half tribes, based on the divine command to Moses (14:2). The introduction focuses on the distribution of land to the sons of Joseph (14:4), before the sons of Judah approach Joshua at Gilgal (14:6). The central theme is the conflicting claims for the possession of land west of the Jordan River. Caleb's claim to Judean land, based on the past promise of Moses (14:10), is in tension with the divine command that the land west of the Jordan be distributed only to the nine and one-half tribes (14:2). The chapter may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Allotment of the Land West of the Jordan River (14:1–5)
2. Caleb's Claim to Land in the Territory of Judah (14:6–15)

Translation

14:1–5. ALLOTMENT OF THE LAND WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

14 [1]These are what the Israelites inherited in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar, the priest, and Joshua son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the Israelites gave to them as an inheritance. [2]By lot was their inheritance as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses to the nine and one-half tribes. [3]For Moses gave the inheritance of the two and one-half tribes across the Jordan. But to the Levites he did not give an inheritance among them. [4]For the sons of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and

Ephraim. But they did not give a share to the Levites in the land, except cities in which to dwell and their pastureland for their cattle and their property.

[5]As Yahweh commanded Moses, thus the Israelites did. They divided the land.

14:6–15. CALEB'S CLAIM TO LAND IN THE TERRITORY OF JUDAH

14 [6]The sons of Judah approached Joshua at Gilgal. And Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite, said to him, "You know the word that Yahweh spoke to Moses, the man of God, concerning me and you at Kadesh-barnea. [7]Forty years old was I, when Moses the servant of Yahweh sent me from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land. And I returned a word to him as was with my heart. [8]But my brothers, who went up with me, caused the heart of the people to despair. Yet I remained true to Yahweh, my God. [9]And Moses swore on that day saying, 'Certainly the land on which your foot has walked will be an inheritance for you and for your children forever, because you remained true to Yahweh, your God.' [10]Now, indeed, Yahweh has kept me alive as he said these forty-five years, from when Yahweh spoke this word to Moses, while Israel journeyed in the wilderness. And now, indeed, today I am eighty-five years old. [11]Yet I, today, am as strong as on the day Moses sent me. My strength then is like my strength now for war, for going, and for coming. [12]Now give me this hill country, of which Yahweh spoke on that day, because you heard on that day. Although the Anakim are there with great inaccessible cities, perhaps Yahweh is with me and I will dispossess them as Yahweh said."

[13]And Joshua blessed him and gave Hebron to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. [14]Therefore Hebron belonged to Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite, as an inheritance until this day, because he remained true to Yahweh, the God of Israel. [15]The name of Hebron formerly was Kiriath-arba, he was the greatest man among the Anakim. And the land was quiet from war.

Notes

The MT and the LXX of 14:1–5 diverge in the distribution of land west of the Jordan River. The MT anchors the division of the land more clearly in the Mosaic age as a divine command to Moses in v. 2: "By lot was their inheritance as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses to the nine and one-half tribes." The role of Joshua in the MT is to fulfill the past divine commands to Moses; he does not receive a divine revelation himself to undertake the task. The LXX, by contrast, directs the divine command to Joshua: "By lots they inherited according to the manner the Lord commanded by the hand of Iesous to the nine and one-half tribes" (14:2). The differences continue into v. 3, where the LXX lacks the reference to Moses and land distribution in the MT, resulting in the continued focus on Joshua; he both receives the divine revelation (14:2) and proceeds with the distribution of the land west of the Jordan (14:3). The two versions move closer together in v. 5, when the divine direction to divide the land west of the Jordan is anchored in the past command to Moses in both versions. The MT and the LXX also differ in minor details throughout 14:1–15.

14:1 *These are what.* The phrase *wĕʾēlleh ʾăšer* is uncommon as the beginning of a sentence. First Chronicles 6:31 contains an example with *waw* consecutive, and Num 34:29 and Josh 13:32 without *waw* consecutive; in Zech 1:10 the phrase is in direct discourse (see de Vos, 2003: 179). Fritz (1994: 150) adds the word "inheritance" (*nḥlt*), "these are the inheritance," citing 19:51, *ʾēlleh hannĕḥālōt ʾăšer.* In the LXX, 14:1 follows immediately after 13:32, and both verses share the same general syntax, shifting the focus to "the ones inheriting" rather than the inheritance itself. The MT includes between the two verses the notice that the Levites lack land (13:33). Auld (1998: 23–24) argued that the second *ʾăšer* in the phrase *wĕʾēlleh ʾăšer,* "these are what," triggers an addition to include priestly leadership into the allotment of tribal territory (see below).

the Israelites inherited in the land of Canaan. The MT focuses on the land; it identifies the Israelites (*bĕnê-yiśrāʾēl*) as the subject of the Qal active verb "to inherit" (*nāḥălû*). The identification of the "Israelites" with the western tribes introduces ambiguity, according to de Vos (2003: 177), about the status of the eastern tribes. The reference to the Israelites, however, tends to be inclusive throughout the book of Joshua; see, for example, the opening of the book, where the references to the "Israelites" is inclusive even though the focus is on the land west of the Jordan (1:2). The exception is the debate over the altar in Josh 22. The LXX does not contain the same ambiguity; it renders the Hebrew verb as a substantive participle, "these are the inheritors" (*houtoi hoi kataklēronomēsantes*), focusing more clearly on the portion of the Israelites (*huiōn Israēl*) who will receive the western "land of Canaan." See also the "Notes" to 14:1.

the land of Canaan. See the "Notes" to 3:10.

which Eleazar. The syntax of the MT is awkward, following the previous *ʾăšer* clause (see above).

of the Israelites. The Hebrew *libnê yiśrāʾēl* is in a genitive relationship with "the heads of the fathers of the tribes" (see Noth, 1971b: 78; de Vos, 2003: 180 n. 23).

14:2 *By lot was their inheritance.* The translation of the Hebrew *bĕgôral naḥălātām* is difficult. The phrase occurs only in this text. Auld (1998: 23 n. 2) cites Num 36:3, *ûmiggōral naḥălātinû,* "from the allotment of our inheritance," as the closest parallel. The MT links vv. 1 and 2 into a single sentence; while the LXX, *kata klērous klēronomēsan,* "by lots they inherited," separates vv. 1 and 2. Noth (1971b: 78) suggested revocalizing the MT *băggôral* and adding *niḥălû ʾōtām,* "by lot he caused them to inherit," thus separating the Hebrew of vv. 1 and 2 as in the LXX (see also Fritz, 1994: 150).

as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses. The LXX states *en cheiri iesou,* "by the hand of Iesous," rather than Moses. Butler (2014a: 84) states that the LXX emphasizes the act of distribution rather than that of commanding. De Vos (2003: 182 n. 33) suggests that the LXX is an attempt to harmonize 14:2 with the command to Joshua in 13:7. It is difficult to see this change as a textual corruption in either direction, suggesting instead that it is a rereading of the verse in either the MT or LXX, depending on which version represents the earlier text. Auld (2005: 176) writes that the LXX "merges the agency of Jesus and Moses: portrays them in continuity with each other."

14:3–4 *For . . . For.* Joshua 14:3 and 4 in the MT begin with a *kî* clause, suggesting a parallel construction. The function of the *kî* clauses is difficult to determine, however. Nelson (1997: 175) interprets the *kî* in v. 3 as emphatic, translating "indeed," while translating the *kî* in v 4. as causal, "it is because." The syntax of the MT, however, suggests a similar function of the *kî* clauses in both v. 3 and v. 4, which I am tentatively interpreting as causal. The LXX eliminates the parallel between vv. 3 and 4 and begins only v. 4 with the causal use of the *hoti.* The result is that v. 4 is a subordinate clause to v. 3, which provides the reason why Joshua/the Lord did not distribute land to the Levites west of the Jordan River.

14:3 *For Moses gave the inheritance of the two and one-half tribes across the Jordan.* The LXX lacks the opening sentence and includes only the closing section of the verse, "across the Iordan." Most interpreters conclude that the LXX suffers from a textual corruption by homoioteleuton. But the additional contrast in v. 2, with Moses in the MT and Joshua in the LXX, raises the question of whether the alterations to v. 3 of the LXX are intentional. If so, then the MT and the LXX present contrasting inter- pretations of land distribution west of the Jordan River. In the MT, Moses received the divine command to distribute the land west of the Jordan River on the east of the Jordan (v. 2), while he distributed the eastern land (v. 3). Moses is absent in the LXX version of vv. 2–3; it emphasizes that the inheritance of the nine and one-half tribes is through Joshua (*en cheiri iesou*). As a result, the third-person singular verbs in vv. 3 and 4 in the LXX also cannot refer to Moses; they must refer to either Joshua or the Lord. In the LXX, Joshua becomes a more central character in the distribution of the land west of the Jordan, as compared to Moses in the MT version. Auld (1998: 22–23) concluded that the difference is minimized in v. 5, when both the MT and the LXX attribute the authority of all land division to Moses. The differences between the two texts are illustrated in Table 3.

across the Jordan. The phrase can mean "either side of the Jordan depending on the standpoint of the narrator" (*HALOT* 435), which is illustrated in the MT and the LXX versions of 14:3. In the MT, *mēʿēber layyardēn* indicates the east side of the Jordan River as the location where Moses distributes the land to the two and one-half tribes, who will live east of the Jordan River. The LXX, *apō tou peran tou iordanou,* indicates the location of Joshua on the west side of the Jordan River. For further discussion, see the "Notes" to 1:14.

Table 3. Differences between the MT and LXX versions of Josh 14:2–5

MT	*LXX*
[2]By lot was their inheritance as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses to the nine and one-half tribes.	[2]By lots they inherited according to the manner the Lord commanded by the hand of Iesous to the nine and one-half tribes
[3]For Moses gave the inheritance of the two and one-half tribes across the Jordan. But to the Levites he [Moses] did not give an inheritance among them.	[3]from across the Iordan. But to the Levites he [Iesous] did not give an inheritance among them,
[4]For the sons of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim. But they did not give a share to the Levites in the land, except cities to dwell and their pastureland for their cattle and their property.	[4]because the sons of Joseph were two tribes, Manasse and Ephraim, and a portion of the land was not given to the Leuites, but the cities to settle and the areas set apart for their domestic animals and their animals.
[5]As Yahweh commanded Moses, thus the Israelites did. They divided the land.	[5]As the Lord commanded Moyses, thus the Israelites did. They divided the land.

But to the Levites he did not give. The MT *lōʾ nātan* continues to refer to Moses as the subject, "he [Moses] did not give." The LXX *ouk edōken* refers to Joshua or the Lord as the subject, "he [Iesous/Lord] did not give."

14:4 *But they did not give.* The subject of the plural verb in the MT, *wĕlōʾ-nātĕnû,* is ambiguous. The parallel structure of v. 4 suggests that the subject may be Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, although these tribes do not determine the inheritance or the lack of inheritance of the Levites. The LXX avoids the ambiguity by translating the verb in the passive, *kai ouk edothē meris,* "a portion was not given."

for their cattle and their property. The MT *lĕmiqnêhem ûlĕqinyānām* is translated with the redundant phrase in the LXX *tois ktēnesin kai ta ktēnē autōn,* "the cattle and their cattle."

14:6 *Gilgal.* See the "Notes" to 4:19.

Kadesh-barnea. See the "Notes" to 10:41.

14:7 *Moses, the servant of Yahweh.* The Hebrew *mōšeh ʿebed-yhwh* is rendered in the LXX in v. 6 as *anthrōpon tou theou,* "the man of God," and here as *ho pais tou theou,* "the servant of God."

And I returned a word to him as was with my heart. The Hebrew idiom *ʿim-lĕbābî,* "with my heart," indicates intention when used to describe David's desire to build a temple for Yahweh (1 Kgs 8:17, 18; 1 Chr 28:2; 2 Chr 6:8). The phrase may also indicate honesty, as in the English phrase "to speak from the heart" (see Deut 15:9). This is the meaning suggested by the NRSV: "I brought him an honest report." The LXX reinterprets the phrase as reflecting the attitude of Moses or perhaps the Deity: "I brought him a word according to *his* mind (*kata ton noun autou*).

14:8 *caused the heart of the people to despair.* The Hebrew *himsîw* means "to melt." The verb is Aramaic (*GKC* 75ii). Noth (1971b: 78) reads the Hebrew *hēmassû* as in Deut 1:28.

14:9 *Certainly.* The Hebrew *ʾim-lōʾ* indicates an oath (*GKC* 149).

because you remained true to Yahweh, your God. The Hebrew *millēʾtā,* with the preposition *ʾaḥărê,* means "to remain true to" (see also Num 14:24, Deut 1:36). The LXX translates *prosetethēn epakolouthēsai,* "you applied to follow."

14:11 *for war, for going, and for coming.* The Hebrew *lammilḥāmâ wĕlāṣēʾt wĕlābōʾ* most likely means strength both for war and for daily activity. The LXX narrows the meaning to focus only on war, *exelthein kai eiselthein eis ton polemon,* "to go out and to go in for battle."

14:12 *because you heard on that day.* The translation connects the *kî* clause with the preceding statement to underscore that Caleb's claim to land is not simply based on the past promise of Yahweh but on the fact that Joshua also heard it himself (see the NAB). This is also the rendering of the LXX. But the *kî* clause may also introduce a new sentence underscoring that Joshua has heard about the Anakim, "For you heard on that day that the Anakim were there with great inaccessible cities" (NRSV).

Anakim. See the "Notes" to 11:21.

perhaps Yahweh is with me and I will dispossess them. The Hebrew adverb *ʾûlay* indicates a hopeful conditional statement. The LXX renders the Hebrew with a more definite tone as a future more vivid condition: *ean oun kyrios met emou ēi, exolothreusē autous,* "If, accordingly, the Lord is with me, I will thoroughly destroy them." The translation "with me" follows the LXX *met emou* and thus interprets the MT *ʾōtî,* "to me," as *ʾittî,* "with me."

14:13 *Hebron.* See the "Notes" to 10:3.

to Caleb the son of Jephunneh. The LXX includes the further identification "son of Kenaz."

14:14 *to Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite.* The LXX renders the Hebrew as three generations as in v. 13.

because he remained true to Yahweh, the God of Israel. The MT repeats v. 8. The LXX provides a new interpretation, "because he followed in the commands (*prostagmati*) of the Lord, the God of Israel."

14:15 *Kiriath-arba.* The Hebrew *qiryat 'arba'* means "City of Four." The LXX translates *polis arbok,* "the city of Arbok." The city occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible, with all of the references in the book of Joshua (14:15, 15:13, 21:11). In each instance Kiriath-arba is identified as the former name of Hebron. Joshua 15:13 states that the city was named after Arba, the progenitor of Anak (see the "Notes" to 11:21 concerning the Anakim). Joshua 21:11 states that Kiriath-arba (Hebron) became a Levitical city.

Composition

The literary evaluation of Josh 14 and its date of composition center on two related problems: the prominence of Priestly motifs in 14:1–5, as well as questions of literary unity and narrative context, and the literary development of the Caleb tradition in 14:6–15.

PRIESTLY MOTIFS, LITERARY UNITY, AND NARRATIVE CONTEXT

A central problem in the historical-critical study of 14:1–5 is to account for the abundance of Priestly motifs, which include references to the high priest Eleazar (14:1) and the distribution of land by lot (14:2). Classical source criticism identified 14:1–5 with the Priestly source of the Pentateuch on the basis of the shared motifs. This was the position of Wellhausen (1899: 130), who identified the reference to the eastern tribes (14:3) as a later addition. The source-critical solution continued with such interpreters as Eissfeldt (1965: 251). But over time interpreters rejected the identification of the Priestly source in the book of Joshua, evaluating the Priestly-like language in 14:1–5 as post-Priestly composition (e.g., Cortese, 1990: 52–56; see the review by Boorer, 2016, 2011).

Noth (1971b: 83) rejected the identification of the Priestly source in 14:1–5, arguing instead for a core text that underwent a process of Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic additions, resulting in a disunified introduction. The original introduction (14:1a, 4, 5) stated that the Israelites inherited the land (14:1a); that Israel consisted of the twelve tribes (this motif is now lost), with the sons of Joseph including both Manasseh and Ephraim (14:4); and that the land was distributed in accordance with the divine command to Moses (14:5). This account originally functioned as the introduction for the distribution of land to all of the tribes, according to Noth. In the process of redaction, most likely under the influence of the Deuteronomistic Historian (1971b: 13–15, 83), the eastern tribes were transferred from the end to the beginning of the account of the tribal division of land (13:8–33). In the rearrangement, 14:1a, 4, 5 was also moved to its present context, as a secondary introduction to the land distribution of Judah (Josh 14–15) and Joseph (Josh 16–17), after the distribution of land to the eastern tribes (13:8–33). The new literary context of 14:1a, 4, 5 was accompanied by a series of redactions, including the reference to Moses giving land to the two and one-half eastern tribes (14:2a*b*, 3), the insertion of the Priestly description of the "land of Canaan" (14:1a), the list of leaders (14:1b), and the reference to the lot (14:2a)—all based on Priestly texts (e.g., Num 32:28, 33:54, 34:16). The combination resulted in tension between inheritance aimed at the Israelites in general (14:1a, 4, 5) and inheritance by lot (14:1b, 2a*a*). Many interpreters built upon and refined the redaction-critical model of Noth (e.g., Wüst, 1975: 202–4; Fritz, 1994: 150–51; Auld, 1998: 23).

Recent studies depart from Noth by focusing more specifically on the inner-biblical relationship with late Priestly literature in Num 26, 32, 34, 35, which underscored the postexilic composition of Josh 14:1–5. De Vos (2003: 178–79) identified a core text (14:1a, 5) in which the Israelite inheritance of the land of Canaan was stated (14:1a) and acted upon (14:5). There was a subsequent clarification (14:1b, 2b–3), stating that the process of inheritance was by Eleazar, Joshua, and the tribal leaders (14:1b); and that the focus of the inheritance was on the west side of the Jordan to the nine and one-half tribes (14:2), because Moses already gave land to the eastern tribes (14:3a), while also excluding the Levites (14:3b). Further modifications (14:2a, 4) underscored that the inheritance was by lot (14:2a) and that the sons of Joseph consisted of two tribes (14:4a). Gass (2019: 119–37) also argued that 14:1–5, in conjunction with 19:49–51, underwent a series of revisions in the literary development of Josh 13–19. The earliest composition was the Priestly Redaction; it combined the Priestly source document of seven tribes (reflected in Num 34) with a separate document of place-names of the tribal territory (identified originally by Alt; see the "Introduction") to create an early version of Josh 13–19. This version stated that the Israelites inherited the land of Canaan (14:1) by lot (14:2a); the same motifs also repeated in the conclusion (19:49a, 51b*a*). Three additional compositions fill out the details in 14:1–5. The Late Priestly Redaction introduced Eleazar and the heads of the fathers of the tribes as leaders along with Joshua in the distribution of the tribal territory (14:1b; see also 19:51a); the Priestly-Deuteronomistic Redaction included the identification of the nine and one-half and the two and one-half tribes of the twelve-tribe system, the exclusion of the Levites, and the notice of the fulfillment of the divine instructions (14:3–4a, 5; see also 19:51b*b*); and a Late-Priestly Gloss inserted the Levitical cities (14:4b) from the influence of Josh 21. Although the results vary among the redaction-critical studies, they share the assumption that distinct motifs in 14:1–5 signal stages in the history of composition, as different authors added new characters to the story, increased the number of tribes, or changed the process of land division in the formation of Josh 13–19. They also agree that the Hexateuch or the Enneateuch was the literary context for the series of redactions, rather than the book of Joshua.

I follow the recent redaction-critical studies in emphasizing the close inner-biblical relationship between Josh 14:1–5 and the late Priestly literature in Num 26, 32, 34, 35. The parallels include the repetition of the opening phrase "these are what the Israelites inherited" (Josh 14:1a; Num 26:53, 34:29); the reference to the "land of Canaan" (Josh 14:1a, Num 13:2; see more broadly Gen 11:31, Exod 6:4, Lev 14:34); the leadership of Eleazar (Josh 14:1b, Num 34:17); the "heads of the fathers of the tribes" (Josh 14:1b; e.g., Num 1:4, 7:2, 31:26, 32:28); the motif of the "lot" (Josh 14:2; Num 26:55, 33:54); the identification of the tribes with the Hebrew *maṭṭeh* (Josh 14:2; Num 34:14, 18; see the "Introduction"); the concept of the twelve tribes with the further identification of the nine and one-half western and the two and one-half eastern tribes (Josh 14:2–3, Num 34:13–15); the allocation of cities and pastureland to the Levites (Josh 14:4b, Num 35:1–8); and the division of Joseph as Manasseh and Ephraim (Josh 14:4, Num 26:28). In contrast to the recent trend in redaction-critical studies, however, I judge the present context of Josh 14:1–5 to be original.

Joshua 14:1–5 has undergone at least three stages of composition. It is a composition by the author of the book of Joshua to introduce the distribution of land to Judah and to Joseph; it develops motifs that underscore the central role of these two tribes among the division of land to the twelve tribes in Josh 13–19. Joshua 14:1–5 was never intended to be the introduction to the tribal division of the entire western land in Josh 13–19, as argued for example by Noth (1971b: 83); it was written to function as the transitional introduction to the distribution of land to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to Joseph (Josh 16–17). The initial phrase, "these are what the Israelites inherited in the land of Canaan," is meant to refer back to 13:1a, 7, where the opening divine speech to Joshua functions as the overall introduction to Josh 13–19. Auld (2008: 23) explained "that neither 14:1–5 nor even its core of 1a was composed as the main introduction to the account of the west-Jordan land-division. It serves rather as a recapitulation of an account already introduced at the beginning of ch. 13, but broken off when new details on Transjordan were added."

Joshua 14:1–5 is the resumption of the original introduction (13:1a, 7) after the historical summary about the eastern tribes (13:8–33); it is intended to bring the subject matter back to the nine and one-half western tribes (13:7), while focusing attention on the division of the land to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to Joseph (Josh 16–17). A new introduction (18:1–10) will mark the transition to the inheritance of the remaining seven tribes (18:11–19:51). The motifs in 14:1–5 must be interpreted from two vantage points within the context of Josh 13–19; some of the motifs link back to what precedes, while others provide new themes that clarify the division of land to Judah and to Joseph. Examples of 14:1–5 linking back to the opening introduction (13:1a, 7) are the repetition of "land division" (14:5, 13:7), "inheritance" (14:1–2, 13:7), and the nine and one-half western tribes, which assumes the concept of the twelve-tribe system (14:2, 13:7). Joshua 14:1–5 also ties back to the preceding section on the eastern tribes (13:8–33), restating that Moses gave the land to the two and one-half eastern tribes (14:3; 13:8, 15, 24, 29, 32); the exclusion of the Levites from eastern territory is also carried forward (14:3, 4a [part]; 13:14, 33). Joshua 14:1–5 develops four new themes that clarify the division of land to Judah and to Joseph. The first is the division of land by lot (14:2), which was not the case in the distribution of land to the eastern tribes. The second is the broad participation of "all Israel" in the allocation of land to Judah and to Joseph. The pan-Israelite setting is underscored by the framing of the introduction with references to the Israelites (14:1, 5). The third theme is the narrowing of focus on the sons of Joseph, who comprise the two tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim (14:4). The central role of the territory of Joseph will return in the account of the allocation of land (see the "Comments" on Josh 16–17). The fourth theme is that the division of territory has Mosaic authority; it fulfills Yahweh's command to Moses (14:5).

Joshua 14:1–5 undergoes revision with the addition of Eleazar, the "heads of the fathers of the tribes" as the leaders who allocate the land (14:1b), and the notice that the Levites inherit cities with pastureland (14:4b). The allocation of cities to the Levites is tied to the larger addition of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities (Josh 20–21). The Levitical possession of land contrasts to the exclusion of land to Levites (14:3, 4a [part]; see also 13:14, 33; 18:7). The addition of Eleazar and the heads of the fathers of the tribes contrasts to the opening introduction (13:1a, 7), which is explicit in stating that Joshua leads the allotment of land to the western tribes. The leading role of Joshua reappears at the end of Josh 14–17, when the sons of Joseph address Joshua about the allotment (17:4). Eleazar functions in a clearly defined and limited role within the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch; he is introduced in the genealogy of Aaron (e.g., Exod 6:23, 25; 28:1; Lev 10:6, 12, 16); he is identified as the leader over the Levites (e.g., Num 3:32); and he becomes the high priest after Aaron (Num 20:25, 28). The leadership role of the "heads" appears more broadly in the Hebrew Bible than the limited function of Eleazar in Priestly literature. They appear, for example, as leaders over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens in the story of Jethro and Moses (Exod 18:25) and in the description of Jephthah as the "head" over the elders of Gilead, which may also reflect an office of leadership (e.g., Judg 11:8–11). The function of the "heads of the fathers of the tribes" in Joshua, however, is more narrowly defined in relationship to Eleazar, which according to R. Albertz (2007) is a late Priestly insertion into Joshua, intended to bring the book into conformity with late Persian provincial practice.

The insertion of Eleazar and the "heads of the fathers of the tribes" is not limited to the introduction in 14:1–5; the same characters reappear in the conclusion (19:51b), thus framing the account of the distribution of land to the western tribes (Josh 14–19; see Gass, 2019: 121–25). Eleazar also appears in the address of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:4), in the introduction to the account of the Levitical cities (21:1), and in the closing notice of his burial site (24:33). The profile of Eleazar indicates how uneasily he fits within the book of Joshua. In Priestly tradition, Eleazar models the priestly leadership of the Jerusalem cult in the postexilic period. His duties focus primarily on the maintenance of the cultic site, which does not function in the book of Joshua; the duties include the oversight of the Levites (Num 3:32), sacrificial material (Num 4:16), and the red heifer (Num 19:3); the commission of leaders with the Urim and the Thummim (Num 27:21); and so forth. Outside of the administration of the cultic site, Eleazar evaluates war and war booty (Num 31:6, 12, 26), the legal adjudication of the complaint of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:2), and the distribution of the land (Num 34:17)—all of which conflict with the role of Joshua in the book of Joshua (for the evaluation of Phinehas, see "Comments" to Josh 22).

The "heads of the fathers of the tribes" are included with Eleazar at the outset of the account of the Levitical cites (21:1) and again alongside Phinehas in the confrontation with the eastern tribes (22:14, 30). They represent lay leadership in the book of Joshua tied to the priests, Eleazar (14:1, 19:51, 21:1), and Phinehas (22:14, 30). The title *wĕrōʾšê ʾăbôt hammaṭṭôt* may be a shortened form for the phrase "the heads of the house of the fathers," *rōʾšê bêt ʾăbôt*, as suggested by Noth (1971b: 78). The "house of the fathers," *bêt ʾăbôt*, likely represents a social group in the postexilic period tied to the Jerusalem temple in Yehud. J. Weinberg (2009) concluded that the "house of the fathers" designated lay groups organized around temples for economic purposes;

it signified an agnate group, meaning members related by male descent. Such kinship relationships could be either real or fictional. Thus, genealogies of the "descendants" in the "house of the fathers" may indicate a social coalition of unrelated individuals, rather than a family tree. Membership was essential for economic prosperity and for successful leadership. The "house of the fathers" is used frequently in the Priestly literature (e.g., Num 1:4, 7:2, 25:14, 26:2). The books of Ezra (10:16) and Nehemiah (1:6, 7:61, 10:35) indicate that just such a temple community assumed a prominent role in Yehud in the postexilic period. The "heads of the fathers" also appears frequently throughout Ezra (e.g., 1:5; 2:59, 68; 3:12; 4:2, 3; 8:1; 10:16) and Nehemiah (e.g., 7:69, 70; 8:13; 11:13; 12:12, 22), as well as in the Priestly literature (e.g., Num 1:4, 16; 7:2; 25:14). The "house of the father(s)" is not part of the social vision of the book of Joshua. The entire web of references to Eleazar, Phinehas, and the "heads of the fathers of the tribes," as well as the Levitical possession of cities, modifies the leadership in the allotment of land, the social vision of tribal Israel, and the Levitical possession of property.

CALEB

Caleb is associated with the city of Hebron and with the tribe of Judah in the Hebrew Bible, although the relationships are complex (J. L. Wright, 2014; Beltz, 1974). Fritz (1994: 150) is likely correct that the earliest form of the tradition was meant to explain why Caleb possessed Hebron. Caleb is twice described as receiving Hebron as an inheritance, once from Joshua (Josh 15:13–19) and another time from Judah (Judg 1:20). Caleb's brother, Othniel, is twice described as conquering the neighboring city of Debir and as receiving Caleb's daughter, Achsah, as a reward (Josh 15:13–19, Judg 1:12–15). The conflict between David and Nabal in the southern desert identifies the latter as a "Calebite," thus locating the clan of Caleb in the southern region surrounding Hebron (1 Sam 25:3); this location is reinforced when the same territory is described as the "desert of Caleb" in the account of David's raid on the Amalekites after their destruction of Ziklag (1 Sam 30:14). Caleb and Hebron are also linked in the non-Priestly version of the spy story (Num 13–14), when Caleb emerges as the leader of the mission (Num 13:6, 20; 14:24) that penetrates northward as far as Hebron (Num 13:22; see Jeon, 2020: esp. 263–65).

Caleb and Judah are related because the location of Hebron was within or near the kingdom of Judah. The concentration on the relationship of Caleb and Judah suggests the tradition-historical development of Caleb was probably confined initially to the southern kingdom. But the identity of Caleb varies in the Hebrew Bible. He is identified once without a patrimony (Judg 1:12), but more often he is the son of Jephunneh (e.g., Deut 1:36; Num 13:6; 14:6, 30, 38; 26:65; 32:12; 34:19; Josh 14:6, 13; 15:13; 21:12; 1 Chr 4:15). His tribal affiliation varies. Some traditions identify Caleb as Judahite, thus indicating that Hebron is a possession of the tribe of Judah (e.g., Num 13:6, 34:19; 1 Chr 2:9; 4:13, 15). Others characterize Caleb as a Kenizzite (e.g., Num 32:12; Josh 14:6, 14), in which case Caleb is an Edomite (see the genealogy of Esau in Gen 36:11, 15), thus removing Hebron as a possession of the tribe of Judah. Conflict over land between the Calebites and the Judahites may account for the lack of the full integration of Caleb into the tribe of Judah, as argued by J. L. Wright (2014: 183–84). The broader references to Caleb in the Hebrew Bible indicate that the legend was eventually placed within the larger pan-Israelite setting of the twelve tribes in the spy story (Num 13–14).

The ambiguous relationship between the Calebites and Judah continues in the literary development of the tradition, which coalesces into two versions of Caleb's possession of Hebron, one in Josh 14:6–15 and 15:13–19 and the other in Judg 1:10–20. The accounts appear to be parallel upon first reading, because each incorporates the story of Caleb giving his daughter, Achsah, to his brother, Othniel, as reward for conquering the city of Debir (Josh 15:15–19, Judg 1:11–15). The two versions are nearly verbatim, with four minor variations: (1) The verbs describing the approach to Debir are different (*hālak* in Judg 1:11 and *ʿālâ* in Josh 15:15); (2) Debir is spelled differently (*dĕbîr* in Judg 1:11 and *dĕbīr* in Josh 15:15); (3) Othniel is described as Caleb's "younger" brother only in Judg 1:13; and (4) the person urging the spouse to request water rights from Caleb is different (Othniel urges Achsah in Judg 1:14, and Achsah urges Othniel in Josh 15:18). The parallel accounts may reach back to an older tradition about land rights, now incorporated into Josh 15:15–19 and Judg 1:11–15.

The literary context of the two accounts of Caleb, Othniel, and Achsah contains differences. The version in Judges is written from a Judean perspective; in this account Judah gives Hebron to Caleb, and Joshua plays no role (1:10–20). The version in Joshua, by contrast, is written from a northern point of view; it recounts Caleb's possession of Hebron as a land grant from the northern leader Joshua as a reward for his faithfulness as a spy (14:6–15, 15:13–19). Both versions are likely postexilic compositions addressing potential ambiguity between Judah and the territory of Edom, resulting from Edomite infiltration west of the Jordan River during the exilic period. The westward migration of the Edomites in the Persian period meant that the province of Yehud extended only to Bet-Zur—a location just north of Hebron—making Hebron a borderland territory (J. L. Wright, 2014: 216; see the qualification by Y. Levin, 2012b: 24–39). The different accounts of Caleb's acquisition of Hebron in Josh 14–15 and in Judg 1 address the borderland status of Hebron from distinct perspectives. The northern author of Joshua recognizes the territory as belonging to the Edomites; the southern author of Judg 1 and especially 1 Chr 4 claims the region as part of the tribe of Judah.

Comparison highlights the dependence of Josh 14–15 on Judg 1. Caleb's association with Hebron is recounted in Judg 1:10–20, which contains two accounts of this association. The first is Judg 1:12–15. This episode is embedded in the larger story of Judah's defeat of Jerusalem (1:8), Hebron (= Kiriath-arba, 1:10), and other cities (1:11, 16–18). This account states that Judah, not Caleb, conquered Hebron (1:10). The role of Caleb in 1:12–15 is limited to Debir, where his character is inserted abruptly and without introduction (Sasson, 2014: 144), when he offers his daughter, Achsah, as wife to anyone who will invade the city (1:12). The abrupt appearance of Caleb in 1:12–15 fits uneasily into its present narrative context; it implies an earlier introduction of the character, yet none is provided in Judges. Butler (2014b: 17) argued that the "editor of Judges expects the reader to know the story of Caleb and Achsah from the book of Joshua." But there are no literary features in Judg 1:12–15 that direct the reader to the book of Joshua. Furthermore, the story of Caleb in Judg 1 functions in isolation from the Pentateuch. For example, no reference is made to Caleb's role in the spy story (Num 13–14; Deut 1:22). Caleb also lacks clear identity in Judg 1:12–15, even missing the patrimony of Jephunneh (1:12). The introduction of Othniel as Caleb's brother and as the son of Kenaz provides some clarification (1:13), but this identification is aimed more toward Othniel, perhaps anticipating his later role as judge (Judg 3:7–11), than at clarifying Caleb's identity. The incident of Caleb, Othniel, and Achsah in 1:12–15 appears to be an insertion into the larger story of Judah's conquest, perhaps originating from an earlier tradition of Caleb occupying Hebron. The insertion remains unintegrated into its narrative context, suggesting that it may represent the earliest literary version of the tradition.

The second account of Caleb is Judg 1:20; it represents "an addendum or a correction to the previous Caleb narrative," as argued by Butler (2014b: 17). This version shares the pro-Judean perspective of 1:12–15, even though the two accounts are significantly different. In this version, Judah gives Hebron to Caleb, who defeats the Anakim, including the three sons of Anak, even though Judah conquered them earlier (1:10). Judges 1:20 departs further from 1:12–15 in presupposing the pentateuchal account of the spy story (Num 13–14), since Caleb's possession of Hebron is now interpreted as the fulfillment of the promise of Moses (Judg 1:20). The inner-biblical reference to the Pentateuch is likely directed to the non-Priestly version of the spy story in Num 13–14 (see Dozeman, 1998: 120–22), in which Caleb alone encourages Israel to undertake the conquest; he alone "hushed the people" (Num 13:30); and only he is singled out by Yahweh with the promise of land: "But because my servant Caleb was imbued with a different spirit and remained loyal to me—him I will bring into the land" (Num 14:24).

Caleb's possession of Hebron in Joshua includes two episodes that span Josh 14–15. The story begins with an extended dialogue between Caleb and Joshua (14:6–15), in which Caleb claims land based on his role in the spy story (Num 13–14); it concludes in Josh 15 when Joshua grants Hebron to Caleb (15:13–19). Interpreters question the unity of the two episodes, arguing that Caleb's claim to land on the basis of the spy story (14:6–15) is a later composition than the story of Caleb, Othniel, and Achsah (15:13–19). F. Bleek (1878: 351) long ago argued that 15:13–19 has no literary connection to 14:6–15 and that it originally followed 14:1–5. He interpreted 14:6–15 as an insertion based on the promise of land to Caleb in Deut 1:36, noting in particular the repetition of the motif "setting the foot on the land" (Deut 1:36b, Josh 14:9) to indicate possession.

But the two episodes can also be read as a single composition, since they are linked by the repetition of three motifs in 14:13–15 and 15:13: (1) Joshua's granting of Hebron to Caleb son of Jephunneh (14:13, 15:13a), (2) the anchoring of the gift of Hebron in Yahweh (14:14, 15:13b), and (3) the identification of Hebron as Kiriath-arba and its association with the Anakim (14:15, 15:13c). The literary repetitions could be attributed to the late addition of Josh 15:13, as J. L. Wright (2014: 253) has argued; but the content of 15:13 is so central to the overall thematic development of 15:13–19 that it is difficult to separate it out as a late addition. For example, without 15:13 there would be no reference to Hebron in 15:13–19; the episode would simply begin with an account of Caleb fighting the sons of Anak without a clear setting. The inclusion of 15:13 as original to 15:13–19 avoids this problem, while also linking 14:6–15 and 15:13–19 together.

The interpretation of 14:6–15 and 15:13–19 as a single narrative points to its late composition. This lateness is further evident by the author's use of the spy story (Erisman, 2019: 100–101). The spy story was absent in Judg 1:12–15, but it appeared in Judg 1:20, where the focus was on Caleb alone, reflecting the non-Priestly version. Caleb's request for land in Josh 14:6–15 is based on the Priestly version of the spy story in Num 13–14 (see Dozeman, 1998: 120–22), which includes both Caleb and Joshua. In the Priestly account, both "rent their clothes" in reaction to the complaints of the congregation (Num 14:6), and both are given the divine promise of land: "[N]ot one shall enter the land in which I swore to settle you—save Caleb son of Jephunneh and Joshua son of Nun" (Num 14:30). The speech of Caleb in Josh 14:6–15 repeatedly assumes the Priestly version of the spy story. When Caleb approaches Joshua, for example, he includes himself and Joshua as having received the promise of land: "You know the word that Yahweh spoke to Moses, the man of God, concerning me and you" (Josh 14:6). And when Caleb requests his portion of land, he again appeals directly to Joshua's past experience of the divine promise: "Now give me this hill country, of which Yahweh spoke on that day, because you heard on that day" (14:12).

The account of Caleb in Josh 14:6–15 and 15:13–19 is a post-Priestly composition by one author; it is also the latest composition among the various versions of Caleb. The story in Joshua includes the account of Caleb, Othniel, and Achsah from Judg 1:12–15; it is also dependent on the account of Caleb in Deut 1:36, employing the motif of "setting foot on the land" to indicate possession. The author has also incorporated the Priestly version of the spy story (Num 13–14), linking Caleb and Joshua together. The inner-biblical connections indicate the dependence of the author of Joshua on the Priestly literature in Numbers, the reference to Caleb in Deuteronomy, and the tradition of Caleb in Judges.

The aim of the author in refashioning the story of Caleb is not to introduce royal themes associated with David in order to accentuate the central role of Judah (Erisman, 2019: 101); rather, it is to underscore the central role of the northern hero Joshua in allotting territory to Judah and in granting the city of Hebron to Caleb. It also legitimizes the Edomite possession of land surrounding Hebron, which is stated explicitly in the covenant ceremony at Shechem (24:4). Both of these themes contrast to the portrayal of Judah in Judg 1:10–20 as conquering Hebron and Debir, and as giving one or both of these cities to Caleb. The inner-biblical comparison suggests the author is reinterpreting the pro-Judean story of Caleb in Judg 1:10–20 from a northern point of view by making Joshua the central authority in land distribution, even on issues associated with the territory of Judah. The northern perspective is evident further in the opening verse of Josh 14, when Judah is subordinated to Joshua in seeking counsel over Caleb's possession of land (14:1). Joshua maintains a prominent role throughout the narrative both in adjudicating the claim of Caleb and in granting him Hebron (14:6b–15, 15:13), in contrast to Judg 1, where Judah gives Hebron to Caleb (1:20).

Comments

14:1–5. ALLOTMENT OF THE LAND WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER

Joshua 14:1–5 returns to the theme of the inheritance of the nine and one-half tribes west of the Jordan River, first introduced in the divine commission to Joshua (13:1a, 7) but interrupted by the historical summary of Moses and the two and one-half tribes east of the Jordan (13:8–33). The continuation of the theme is signaled by the repetition of the motif of inheritance (*nāḥal;* 13:7, 14:1), in conjunction with the refocus on the land west of the Jordan. There is also literary development with Priestly motifs. The divine command that Joshua divide the inheritance for "the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh" (13:7) is clarified as the "land of Canaan" (14:1; e.g., Num 26:19; 32:30, 32; 33:40, 51; 34:2, 29; 35:10, 14; see "Composition"). The content of 14:1–5 highlights three themes that influence the distribution of tribal territory in Josh 14–19: the use of the lot to determine land distribution (14:2), the twelve-tribe system (14:2–3), and Mosaic authority (14:3, 5).

Lot

The lot (*gôrāl*) is prominent in the book of Joshua, appearing twenty-five times in the MT of Josh 14–21 (e.g., 14:2; 15:1; 16:1; 17:1; 17:14, 17; 18:6, 8, 10, 11 [twice]; 19:1, 10, 17, 24, 32, 40, 51; 21:4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 20, 40). The lot frames the distribution of the western tribal land in Josh 14–19 (14:2, 19:51). The lot also repeats throughout the accounts of individual tribal inheritance at different locations: Gilgal (14:6) is the setting for the lot of Judah (15:1) and the sons of Joseph (16:1; 17:14, 17), specifically Manasseh (17:1); and Shiloh (18:1, 21:2) is the setting for the lot of the seven remaining tribes (18:6, 8, 10, 11; 19:1, 10, 17, 24, 40) and for the distribution of the Levitical cities (21:4, 5, 6, 8, 10; see also 1 Chr 6:54, 61, 65).

The lot in Joshua contrasts to its broader use in the Hebrew Bible. Joshua lacks reference to the Urim and Thummim in the casting of lots (e.g., Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Num 27:21; Deut 33:8; 1 Sam 14:41, 28:6; Ezra 2:64; Neh 7:65; Sir 45:10; 1 Esd 5:40). The Urim and Thummim were likely stones whose meaning may be "light and complete." The plural form of each word, when used in combination to indicate a singular meaning, may express greatness, majesty, and even holiness, according to A. Ember (1905). A. M. Kitz (1997: 407) emphasized the importance of the process of casting lots and concluded that the Urim and Thummim refer more to the results of the decision-making process than to the objects themselves. The ability to employ the Urim and Thummim in divination was initially associated with the Levites in general (Deut 33:8) but eventually was restricted in Priestly tradition to the high priests, Aaron (Exod 28:30, Lev 8:8) and Eleazar (Num 27:21), when they are placed in the breastplate of the high priest (Exod 28:30, Lev 8:8). The casting of lots by Joshua, rather than by the high priest Eleazar, contrasts to the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch; the absence of the Urim and Thummim also makes the casting of lots abstract, more of a concept than a ritual process, in the book of Joshua.

The lot is often used to identify a person and to determine land possession in the Hebrew Bible; these two central functions are in addition to the incorporation of the lot in ritual practices such as the designation of the Azazel goat (Lev 16:8), the determination of temple service (1 Chr 24:5, 7, 31; 25:8, 9; 26:13; Neh 10:34), and the selection of participants for war (Judg 20:9). In Joshua the lot is restricted to the distribution of land and not used for the selection of people. The stories of Saul illustrate the use of the lot in the selection of people, when he is selected by lot to lead the tribes (1 Sam 10:20–21). The lot also uncovers the guilt of Saul's son Jonathan (1 Sam 14:41; see also Jonah 1:7). In the book of Joshua, the lot does not designate a person for leadership, nor does it determine guilt. For example, the leadership role of Joshua results from direct commission by Yahweh (Josh 1:1–9); while the guilt of Achan is also determined by the Deity (7:14). And where the lot is mentioned, it tends to function abstractly without ritual; this is even the case in Josh 18–19 where the actual casting of lots is described in the distribution of land to the seven tribes.

The prominence of the lot in Joshua is in contrast with the usage in the Pentateuch. In the Pentateuch, the lot functions infrequently in the distribution of land, where the motif is a late addition (e.g., Num 26:55, 33:54, 34:13, 36:2). The second census of the tribes provides illustration (Num 26:1–56). This text distinguishes between the census (26:1–51) and the divine command to distribute the land (26:52–56), which includes both the criteria of tribal size (26:52–54) and the lot (26:55–56). Auld (1980: 73–74) concluded that tribal size represents the original conclusion to the Priestly census (26:52–54) and that the distribution by lot (26:55–56) is the later addition (see also Noth, 1968: 208–9; Soggin, 1972: 70).

The late addition of the lot for land distribution in the Pentateuch is often cited as a reason for also judging the motif as a later addition to the book of Joshua (e.g., de Vos, 2003: 181, 199–205). But the frequency (twenty-five occurrences in the MT) and the distribution (chaps. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21; see above) of the lot suggest its central role in the original composition of the book. The book of Joshua even develops the theme beyond the Pentateuch. Joshua removes the tension in the Pentateuch between the criteria of tribal size and the lot, singling out only the casting of lots to determine the distribution of tribal land. The size of the tribes as a factor in land distribution is introduced in Joshua, but only as a complaint by the house of Joseph: "And the sons of Joseph spoke to Joshua saying, 'Why did you give me an inheritance of one lot and one division? But I am a great people, until now Yahweh has blessed me'" (17:14); to which Joshua responds, "If you are a great people, ascend to the forest and clear it for yourself" (17:15). The LXX may restrict the role of the lot even further. The consistent use of the word "border" (*horia*) rather than "lot" (*klērōs*) in the distribution of land to Judah (15:1), Joseph (16:1), and Manasseh (17:1) may be intended to confine the use of the lot in the distribution of land to the seven tribes (Josh 18–19) and to the Levitical cities (Josh 21) (see the "Notes" to 15:1).

The lot is multivalent in Joshua. Many interpreters underscore the function of the lot to emphasize divine authority in the distribution of the tribal land, as underscored in Proverbs: "Casting the lot puts an end to disputes and decides between powerful contenders" (18:18). Boling and Wright (1982: 68, 354) interpret the lot in Joshua on the basis of the Urim and Thummim as a means for uncovering divine intention specifically as it is described in Deut 33:8. The Urim and Thummim are absent in Joshua, but the emphasis on uncovering divine intention is certainly correct. Nelson (1997: 177) stated that the casting of the lot is a sacred act and that it is intended to emphasize divine authority behind the settlement process, as well as the obedience of Israel in following the lot. De Vos (2003: 205) argued that the use of the lot to determine the division of the land was a late development in the biblical literature, perhaps originating in the selection of residents for Jerusalem (Neh 11:1); the use of the lot to determine the division of territory as an expression of divine will would be an even later development.

Knauf (2008: 136) focused more on the social vision of the tribal distribution of land, noting in particular that the division of the land by lot in Joshua does not advance the image of the state with sovereign claims; it underscores instead a more decentralized and rural image focused on the family. Kitz (2000b) underscored the potential influence of Babylonian inheritance practice for interpreting the lot, especially in the case of undivided inheritance after the death of the owner. In such cases, property was jointly owned until an administrator divided the property by means of the lot. Kitz focused in particular on the close parallel between this practice and the distribution of the land to the seven tribes at Shiloh in Josh 18–19. M. Weinfeld (1986: 280; 1993: 22–51) underscored parallels between the lot in Joshua and in Greek colonization procedures. Plato's description of the ideal city of Magnesia in *The Laws* (3.690c), for example, includes the importance of the lot for dividing land; it even requires the leaders to "divide up both the city itself and all the country into the twelve portions" (3.745c)—calling to mind the twelve-tribe system in Joshua. Kitz (2000b: 610) adds that the Greek words for inheritance (e.g., *klēronomeō,* "to inherit"; *klēronomēma,* "inheritance") even derive from the word "lot" (*klēros*). The role of Joshua as the arbitrator who determines the land claims among the twelve tribes by lot also provides parallels to the Greek amphictyonic league. Tod (1913: 78–79) noted that designated leaders took oaths to arbitrate land claims and territorial disputes among the members of the amphictyonic league and that the casting of lots was central to the process of arbitration. He added further that an authoritative survey of the territory under arbitration was a common practice in the process of arbitration (1913: 110). The same process is evident in Joshua's commission of the seven tribes at Shiloh (18:4–6). The parallels reinforce the influence of the Greek amphictyonic league upon the author of Joshua.

Twelve-Tribe System

The theme of pan-Israelite identity as constituting the twelve-tribe system is central in 14:1–5, as it has been in the crossing of the Jordan River (3:12, 4:5) and during the worship on Mount Ebal (8:33). The theme is implied throughout the distribution of land, since the eastern tribes do not depart to their land until Josh 22. The twelve-tribe system, however, is abstract in Joshua, as noted by Knauf (2008: 137). The reason is that the book of Joshua incorporates a variety of different configurations of the twelve tribes from other biblical texts and combines them into the distinctive account of land distribution in Josh 13–19, based on the geographical division between nine and one-half western and two and one-half eastern tribes. Noth (1930: 17–23) clarified different forms of the tribal system in the Hebrew Bible. System A includes Levi and Joseph; it appears in the various accounts of Jacob's/Israel's sons in Genesis (the non-P version, 29:31–30:34 and 35:16–17; and the P version, 46:8–25 and 49:3–27), Exodus (1:2–4), and Chronicles (1 Chr 2:1–2); as well as in the description of worship at Ebal and Gerizim (Deut 27:12–14) and in the names of the gates of Jerusalem (Ezek 48:31–35). The tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh do not appear in the System A version of the tribal list. System B excludes Levi and Joseph, requiring the substitution of Ephraim and Manasseh to maintain the twelve-tribe system; this version appears in Numbers within the arrangement of the camp (2:3–31), the order of marching (10:14–28), and the account of tithing (7:12–83); in Chronicles within in the listing of the tribes (1 Chr 4–7) and the tribal leaders who aid David (1 Chr 12:24–28); and in Joshua within the distribution of the Levitical cities (21:9–39). The two versions of the tribal lists also appear in mixed form. The mixing of the two versions occurs when there is reference to both Joseph and his sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, in the same tribal list. Examples of the mixing of the tribal lists include the first (Num 1:5–54) and second (Num 26:5–51) censuses, where Joseph is mentioned along with his sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (1:10, 32; 26:28). Joseph is also identified with only Manasseh in the list of tribal leaders at the outset of the spy story (Num 13:11). The same mixing appears in the Song of Moses (Deut 33), where the extended praise of Joseph concludes with reference to Ephraim and Manasseh (Deut 33:13–17). It appears again in the transfer of Reuben's birthright to the "sons of Joseph" in Chronicles (1 Chr 5:1–2) and in the clarification in Ezekiel that the twelve-tribe system requires Joseph to "receive two portions" (47:13), a theme that also appears in the book of Joshua (14:4).

Interpreters debate the tradition-historical and literary development of the two tribal lists. Noth (1930: 7–8) identified System A, with Joseph and Levi, as the older list; while de Geus (1976: 70–96) concluded the reverse, that System A was the later edition, especially because of the incorporation of Joseph (for further discussion, see the "Introduction" and the "Comments" to Josh 16 and 17). Whatever the historical development, it is clear that the book of Joshua represents a combination of the System A and System B tribal lists. The book follows System B by excluding the Levites from the twelve-tribe system; they are not incorporated into the genealogy of the twelve tribes, nor are they included in the distribution of land. The author of Joshua underscores this point through repetition in 14:1–5, clarifying that the Levites did not receive land east (14:3) or west (14:4) of the Jordan River. The reference to Joseph and to his sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, also indicates the author's use of the full range of literature on the twelve-tribe system, including both System A and System B from the Pentateuch. The combination points to the late formation of the tribal division of land in Josh 13–19 and the dependence of the author on a wide range of material from the Pentateuch.

The combination of System A and System B in 14:1–5 has prompted some interpreters to reject the twelve-tribe system altogether in Joshua (e.g., Soggin, 1972: 169); Noth (1930: 18) went so far as to conclude that neither the borders nor the place lists in Josh 13–19 were built off the twelve-tribe system, but from a fourteen-unit system. Gass (2019: 372–73) identified an original document of seven tribes and the Priestly source as a seven-tribe system, which eventually developed into the twelve-tribe system in Joshua. But this is not the case; the book of Joshua presupposes the twelve-tribe system. In 14:1–5, the author maintains the twelve-tribe system by clarifying that "the sons of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim" (14:4). The clarification occurs within the complicated explanation concerning the tribes and the distribution of the land, giving 14:1–5 its abstract character. The author not only incorporates the two tribal lists from the Pentateuch but also places the mixed tribal list within the complex account of land distribution, in which nine and one-half tribes receive territory west of the Jordan and two and one-half tribes east of it.

The multiple aims of the author result in the cumbersome introduction, which spells out "nine and one-half tribes" west of the Jordan (14:2), "two and one-half tribes" east of the river (14:3), the exclusion of the Levites from inheriting eastern land (14:3), the identification of Manasseh and Ephraim as the two sons of Joseph (14:4), and finally the exclusion of the Levites from the western land (14:4). The literary strategy provides insight into the point of view of the author. After excluding the Levites, the author constructs the twelve-tribe system by focusing on the northern tribes: The author achieves the number twelve by splitting the "sons of Joseph" into two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, while viewing their separate inheritances as one territory. Knauf (2008: 147) righty concludes that the separate land distribution of Ephraim and Manasseh, as the one territory of the sons of Joseph, reflects the separation of the northern Samarians from the southern Judeans in the postexilic period (see the "Comments" to Josh 16–17).

Mosaic Authority

The division of tribal land is repeatedly anchored in Mosaic authority in the MT version of 14:1–5 (compare the LXX). The inheritance of the land west of the Jordan is grounded in Moses (14:2). The identification of Mosaic authority with the phrase "by the hand of Moses" (*bĕyad-mōšeh*) appears for the first time in Joshua within this text; it also repeats in the establishment of the cities of refuge (20:2), the Levitical cities (21:2, 8), and the allotment of land to the eastern tribes (22:9). The theme of Mosaic authority is also stated in the distribution of land to the eastern tribes (14:3) and in the exclusion of land to the Levites (14:4). Joshua 14:1–5 returns one more time to the theme of Mosaic authority in the conclusion, this time linking all of the different statements about land distribution together as the fulfillment of the past commands of Moses (14:5).

The account of inheritance in 14:1–5 may be the result of inner-biblical interpretation from the Pentateuch, thus accounting for the many references to Moses. For example, Moses does provide instruction for the inheritance of the western land by lot to the nine and one-half tribes (Num 34:15); Moses does directly distribute the land east of the Jordan to the two and one-half tribes (Num 34:16); and Moses also restricts the Levites from inheriting land (e.g., Num 26:62; Deut 10:8–9, 18:1). These texts suggest that the author of Joshua may simply be compiling the full range of Mosaic instruction from the Pentateuch concerning the inheritance and distribution of land. But the repeated references to Moses also underscore the unifying role of Mosaic authority in the book of Joshua as a source of pan-Israelite identity in the varied decision-making processes concerning the land both east and west of the Jordan.

14:6–15. CALEB'S CLAIM TO LAND IN THE TERRITORY OF JUDAH

The reference to the "sons of Judah" in 14:6 provides transition from the general introduction of land distribution (14:1–5) to the specific tribe of Judah as the first to receive its inheritance on land west of the Jordan. Between the introduction of Judah (14:6) and the allotment of its territory (15:1), the author inserts a historical summary about Caleb and the past promise of Moses that he would receive a portion of Judah's land west of the Jordan River (14:6–15). The literary strategy is similar to that in Josh 13, where the divine command (13:1–7) and fulfillment (14:1–5) to Joshua concerning the allotment of the western land in general was also interrupted by the historical summary of Moses's distribution of land to the eastern tribes (13:8–33). The literary strategy in Josh 13 developed two forms of Mosaic authority based on geography: the leadership of Joshua as the successor of Moses west of the Jordan River (13:1–7), and the past commands of Moses in the frontier region east (13:8–33). The two forms of Mosaic authority work in tandem to create pan-Israelite identity among the eastern and western tribes, forming the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity (see the "Comments" to Josh 13).

The story of Caleb, Judah, and Joshua (14:6–15) builds upon the same two forms of Mosaic authority from Josh 13. Caleb's demand for land intertwines the past authority of Moses and Joshua's present authority as the successor of Moses. The speech may be divided into three parts. First, Caleb presents his legal claim based on the past promise of Moses, even quoting the promise verbatim: "And Moses swore on that day saying" (14:6–9). Second, Caleb demonstrates the truth of the Mosaic promise in his physical strength at age eighty-five (14:10–11). And third, Caleb demands land on the basis of the authority of the past promise: "Now give me this hill country, of which Yahweh spoke on that day" (14:12). The speech of Caleb also draws Joshua into the past event, thus linking the two forms of Mosaic authority. In presenting his legal claim, Caleb reminds Joshua, "You know the word that Yahweh spoke to Moses, the man of God, concerning me and you at Kadesh-barnea" (14:6b). After demonstrating the truth of his claim to land based on his absence of aging (14:10–12), Caleb once again appeals to Joshua's past experience of the divine promise of land, which Joshua "heard on that day" (14:12).

The identity of Caleb is crucial for interpreting his request for land in the book of Joshua, especially since his identity is ambiguous in the Hebrew Bible (see "Composition"). The Calebites are contrasted to Judah in the stories of David (1 Sam 25:3, 30:14). But Caleb is identified with Judah in the spy story (Num 13:6, 14:24) and in the account of Judah's conquest in Judges (1:10–20), until Caleb is fully merged into the genealogy of Judah in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 2:18, 42, 46, 48). The book of Joshua represents a different trajectory in the identity of Caleb. He is not a member of the tribe of Judah but is an Edomite from the genealogy of Kenaz and Esau (Gen 36:11, 15, 42; see also 1 Chr 1:53). The author of Joshua even stresses the Edomite identification of Caleb through repetition in the introduction (14:6) and in the conclusion (14:15). The Kenizzite background of Caleb places him outside of the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity in the book of Joshua. The story of Caleb introduces the problem of a non-Israelite demanding a portion of the promised land on the basis of the past promise of Moses. Caleb's demand for land is the third instance in Joshua in which the exclusion of foreigners is challenged (Hawk, 2000: 198). The first two probed the cleverness of foreigners in avoiding the ban. Rahab negotiated residency in the land by rescuing the spies (Josh 2), which Joshua fulfilled "because she hid the messengers" (6:17). The Gibeonites, on the other hand, tricked the Israelites into a covenant allowing them to live in the land (Josh 9), which Joshua cursed (9:23). Neither Rahab nor the Gibeonites receive land, however; Rahab and her clan live "outside of the camp of Israel" (6:23); and although the Gibeonites are associated with the cities of Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim (9:17), Joshua condemns them to service as temple slaves (9:23). Caleb represents a third type of foreigner, who demands a portion of the land of Judah on the basis of the past promise of Moses (14:6–12). Joshua blesses Caleb and grants him land (14:13), which also limits the territory of Judah "because he [Caleb] remained true to Yahweh, the God of Israel" (14:14).

Judah (15:1–63)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The central theme of Josh 15 is the identification of the territory of Judah. It is the most extensive description of borders and place-names in Josh 13–19, far exceeding the other tribal regions in detail. The chapter is organized in two parts. Joshua 15:1–19 outlines the borders of Judah and 15:20–63 provides an extensive list of the towns and districts within the territory of Judah. The two sections are parallel in structure; each section describes the territory of Judah and ends by accentuating areas of the land that remain excluded from the possession of Judah. The list of borders (15:1–12) concludes by noting that Hebron became a possession of Caleb, the Kenizzite (15:13–19). The list of cities in Judah (15:20–62) concludes by underscoring that Jerusalem remained a possession of the Jebusites (15:63). Joshua 15 may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Borders of the Tribe of Judah (15:1–19)
    - A. Four Borders of Judah (15:1–12)
    - B. Hebron and Caleb (15:13–19)
2. Districts and Towns in the Territory of Judah (15:20–63)
    - A. Districts of Judah (15:20–62)
    - B. Jerusalem and the Jebusites (15:63)

Translation

15:1–19. BORDERS OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH

15 [1]The lot for the tribe of Judah according to their families was to the region of Edom, the wilderness of Zin, toward the south, the extreme south. [2]Their southern border was from the end of the Salt Sea, from the inlet that faces toward the south, [3]and it goes out southward to the ascent of Akrabbim, and it crosses over toward Zin, and it ascends southward to Kadesh-barnea, and it crosses Hezron, and it ascends to Addar and turns toward Karka, [4]and it crosses to Azmon and it ascends to the Wadi of Egypt. The limit of the border is the sea. This will be your southern border.

[5]And the eastern border is the Salt Sea until the edge of the Jordan.

And the border to the side of the north is from the inlet of the sea at the edge of the Jordan. [6]And the border ascends toward Beth-hoglah and it crosses from the north to Beth-arabah. And the border ascends to the Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son. [7]And the border ascends toward Debir from the valley of Achor, northward turning toward Gilgal, which is opposite to the ascent of Adummim, south of the Wadi. And the border crosses to the waters of En-shemesh. Its limits will be to En-rogel. [8]And the border crosses the valley of the Son-of-Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusites from the south (that is, Jerusalem). And the border crosses to the top of the mountain, which is before the valley of Hinnom to the west, which is at the end of the valley of the Rephaim to the north. [9]The border changes direction from the top of the mountain to the spring of the waters of Nephtoah and it goes out to the cities of Mount Ephron. The border changes direction to Baalah (that is, Kiriath-jearim). [10]The border turns from Baalah westward to Mount Seir and it crosses to the shoulder of Mount Jearim to the north (that is, Chesalon). And it descends to Beth-shemesh and it crosses to Timnah. [11]The border goes out to the shoulder of Ekron to the north. The border turns toward Shikkeron and it crosses Mount Baalah, and it goes out to Jabneel. And the border ends at the sea.

[12]And the western border is toward the Great Sea and territory.

And this is the border of the sons of Judah all around according to their families.

[13]But to Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, he gave a share of possession in the midst of the sons of Judah, according to the command of Yahweh to Joshua, Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron), Arba was the father of Anak. [14]Caleb dispossessed from there the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai, the sons of Anak. [15]He ascended from there to the inhabitants of Debir (the name of Debir was formerly Kiriath-sepher). [16]And Caleb said, "Whoever slaughters Kiriath-sepher and takes it, I will give to him Achsah, my daughter, for a wife."

[17]And Othniel, son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it. And he gave him Achsah, his daughter, for a wife. [18]And when she entered, she enticed him to request from her father a field. And when she descended from the donkey, Caleb said to her, "What will you have?" [19]And she said, "Give me a blessing, because you gave me the land of the Negeb. Give me pools of water." And he gave to her the upper springs and the lower springs.

15:20–63. DISTRICTS AND TOWNS IN THE TERRITORY OF JUDAH

15 [20]This is the inheritance of the tribe of Judah according to their families.

[21]The cities of the entire area belonging to the tribe of Judah toward the region of Edom in the south were Kabzeel, Eder, Jagur, [22]Kinah, Dimonah, Adadah, [23]Kedesh, Hazor, Ithnan, [24]Ziph, Telem, Bealoth, [25]Hazor-hadattah, Kerioth-hezron (that is, Hazor), [26]Amam, Shema, Moladah, [27]Hazar-gaddah, Heshmon, Beth-pelet, [28]Hazar-shual, Beersheba, Biziothiah, [29]Baalah, Iim, Ezem, [30]Eltolad, Chesil, Hormah, [31]Ziklag,

Madmannah, Sansannah, [32]Lebaoth, Shilhim, Ain, and Rimmon: in all twenty-nine cities with their villages.

[33]And in the lowland, Eshtaol, Zorah, Ashnah, [34]Zanoah, En-gannim, Tappuah, Enam, [35]Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, [36]Shaaraim, Adithaim, Gederah, Gederothaim: fourteen cities and their villages.

[37]Zenan, Hadashah, Migdal-gad, [38]Dilan, Mizpeh, Jokthe-el, [39]Lachish, Bozkath, Eglon, [40]Cabbon, Lahmam, Chitlish, [41]Gederoth, Beth-dagon, Naamah, Makkedah: sixteen cities and their villages.

[42]Libnah, Ether, Ashan, [43]Iphtah, Ashnah, Nezib, [44]Keilah, Achzib, Mareshah: nine cities and their villages.

[45]Ekron, with its daughters and its villages, [46]from Ekron to the sea, and everything that was near Ashdod and its villages. [47]Ashdod, with its daughters and its villages, Gaza, with its daughters and its villages until the Wadi of Egypt, and the Great Sea the border.

[48]And in the hill country, Shamir, Jattir, Socoh, [49]Dannah, Kiriath-sannah (that is, Debir), [50]Anab, Eshtemoh, Anim, [51]Goshen, Holon, and Giloh: eleven cities and their villages.

[52]Arab, Ruman, Eshan, [53]Janim, Beth-tappuah, Aphekah, [54]Humtah, Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron), Zior: nine cities and their villages.

[55]Maon, Carmel, Ziph, Juttah, [56]Jezreel, Jokdeam, Zanoah, [57]Kain, Gibeah, Timnah: ten cities and their villages.

[58]Halhul, Beth-zur, Gedor, [59]Maarath, Beth-anoth, Eltekon: six cities and their villages.

[60]Kiriath-baal (that is, Kiriath-jearim) and Rabbah: two cities and their villages.

[61]And in the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, Secacah, [62]Nibshan, the City of Salt, En-gedi: six cities and their villages.

[63]But the Jebusites, who dwelled in Jerusalem, the people of Judah were unable to dispossess them. And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Judah in Jerusalem until this very day.

Notes

The MT and the LXX diverge in Josh 15. The differences are especially evident in the use of geography, but they also result in the distinct presentation of the characters in the story of Caleb (see also Josh 14) and in the evaluation of Jerusalem.

The story of Joshua granting Hebron to Caleb in 15:13–19 repeats much of the content from 14:6–15 (see the "Composition" to Josh 14). The characters in the story of Caleb and his possession of Hebron in 15:13–19 are developed differently in the MT and the LXX, especially with regard to the role of Achsah in the request for land (15:18). The MT presents a dislocated narrative. It begins with Achsah urging her husband to request land, perhaps through sexual enticement ("when she entered, she enticed him"). But then, she, not her husband, is unexpectedly described as dismounting from a donkey in the presence of her father, Caleb, who asks her what she wants without her ever requesting anything. The LXX presents a more logical version, in which Achsah advises her husband by informing him that she would ask for property from her father. Next, Achsah cries out from her donkey, which prompts Caleb to ask what she wants. In both the MT and the LXX, the story concludes with Caleb giving his daughter land in the Negeb (the springs of water in the MT, and Golathmian in the LXX).

The contrast in the geography between the MT and the LXX includes both the borders and the place-names associated with Judah. The borders are described in 15:1–12, beginning in the south (15:1–4) and moving counterclockwise to survey the eastern (15:5a), northern (15:5b–11), and western (15:12) borders. The survey in the MT includes a total of thirty-nine distinct locations, with the repetition of some sites bringing the total to forty-six. The focus is on the twelve locations on the southern border (15:1–4) and the thirty-one sites on the northern border (15:5b–11). The eastern border includes two sites, the Salt Sea and the Jordan River (15:5a), while the western border consists solely of the Great Sea (15:12). The difference between the MT and the LXX description of Judah's southern border includes the following: (1) The reference to Zin in the MT (15:3) is translated in the LXX as the wilderness of Sin (15:1) and Senna (15:3), and (2) Karka in the MT (15:4) is translated in the LXX as Kades. Two differences appear in the description of the northern border: (1) Debir in the MT of v. 7, "and the border ascends toward Debir from the valley of Achor," is absent in the LXX and replaced by the topographical statement "and the borders go higher to the fourth part of the valley of Achor"; and (2) the place-name Timnah in the MT of v. 10 is translated in the LXX with a general statement of direction, "to the south."

The most significant differences are in the list of place-names in 15:21–62. De Vos (2003: 132) noted the contrasting totals in the number of the place-names in the MT (112), the LXXB (124), and the LXXA (123). The divergence between the MT and the two LXX witnesses caused the Rahlfs edition of the LXX to print the Greek translation of 15:21–62 in the LXXB and LXXA versions alongside each other without any attempt at reconstructing an original text. The following is a brief summary of the differences between the MT and the LXX in Josh 15.

The cities of Judah are listed by area and district (15:20–62). They are clearly marked in four areas, each with districts: One district in the south (15:21–32), three districts in the lowland region (15:33–44, with an additional description of Philistine cities in 15:45–47), five districts in the highland region (15:48–60), and one district in the wilderness region of Judah (15:61–62). The contrasts between the MT and the LXX may be summarized as follows. The southern district in 15:21–32 includes a wide variation in the list of cities. Both the MT and the LXX state a total of twenty-nine cities in the southern district of Judah, even though the MT has thirty-six cities and the LXX has thirty. The LXX lacks six cities from the MT, including Hazor (v. 23), Ziph (v. 24), Hazor-hadattah (v. 24), Heshmon (v. 27), Biziothiah (v. 28), Sansannah (v. 31, present in the LXXB but absent in the LXXA), and Ain (v. 32). The LXX (LXXB and LXXA) include references to the cities of Eder (v. 21), Jagur (v. 21), Dimonah (v. 22), Adadah (v. 22), Ithnan (v. 23), Telem (v. 24), Amam (v. 26), Hazar-gaddah (v. 27), Hazar-shual (v. 28), Iim (v. 29), and Chesil (v. 30). The same variations in geography continue to a lesser degree through the districts in the lowland region (15:33–47). The MT includes the cities of Adithaim (v. 36) and Ashan (v. 42), which are absent in the LXX, while the LXX includes the cities of Nemra/Membra (v. 35, LXXA/LXXB) and Akiezi (v. 44, LXXB). The districts in the highland region (15:48–60) provide a more striking contrast, with the LXX adding an entire district of eleven cities that are absent in the MT (v. 59a; Theko and Ephratha [this is Baithleem], Phagor, Aitan, Koulon, Tatam, Eobes, Karem, Galem, Thether, and Manocho). The divergence suggests that both textual traditions have undergone separate literary development in the use of geography.

The final topic of contrast is the evaluation of Jerusalem (15:63). The LXX and the MT agree that the city of Jerusalem lies outside of the boundary of Judah. But Jerusalem is judged differently. The LXX is restricted to an historical evaluation of Jerusalem, refraining from any contemporary evaluation. The LXX concludes the chapter with the historical statement that the Jebusites lived in Jerusalem at the time when Judah took over the land: "And the Iebousite dwelled in Ierousalem to that very day." The LXX makes no mention of the intermingling of Jebusites and the people of Judah within the setting of Jerusalem, nor does it address the contemporary social setting of the city. The MT, by contrast, condemns the city of Jerusalem as polluted through the ethnic mixing of the people of Judah with the indigenous Jebusites, which continues into the present time: "But the Jebusites, who dwelled in Jerusalem, the people of Judah were unable to dispossess them. And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Judah in Jerusalem until this very day."

15:1 *The lot for the tribe of Judah.* The Hebrew *haggôrāl,* "lot," is translated in the LXX *ta horia,* "borders, boundaries," which is repeated in 16:1 and 17:1. De Vos (2003: 16–17) clarified that the Greek *ta horia* normally translates *gĕbûl,* "border," with variations of *klēros,* translating "lot." The departure of the LXX from the MT in the introductions to the land distribution of Judah (15:1), Joseph (16:1), and Manasseh (17:1) prompted Auld (1998: 24) to identify "border" (*horia*) in the LXX of 15:1, 16:1, and 17:1 as the more original reading, with the motif of the "lot" (*gôrāl*) in the MT as the later addition. But the prominent function of the "lot" in Joshua and the agreement of the LXX with the MT in the introduction (14:2; MT *bĕgôrāl,* LXX *kata klērous*) and in the conclusion (19:51; MT *bĕgôrāl,* LXX *kata klērous*) to the land distribution of the western tribes favors the MT over the LXX (see the "Comments" to Josh 14). Auld (1998: 24) is correct, however, that the consistent change of the LXX to the three tribes of Judah (15:1), Joseph (16:1), and Manasseh (17:1) "makes any theory of accidental alteration unlikely." The result of the changes in the LXX is that the allocation of land at Gilgal to Judah, Joseph, and Manasseh is removed from the process of the lot, which is restricted in the LXX to the allocation of the tribal land at Shiloh.

region of Edom. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* likely means "region" in this verse, as in 13:23, although it can also designate the "border" (see the "Introduction," "Territory and Territoriality," and the "Comments" to Josh 13). The LXX translates *tōn horiōn,* "the boundaries," repeating the same word from v. 1a, *ta horia.*

Edom. The Hebrew *'ĕdôm* means "red," indicating the red-colored sandstone of the Arabah Valley in the region south of the Dead Sea. The LXX translates *idoumaias,* "Idumea." Direct reference to the Edomite nation is lacking in the book of Joshua; there are two references to the land of Edom, both in Josh 15, to signify Judah's southern boundary (*'el-gĕbûl 'ĕdôm;* 15:1, 21), which indicates the presence of Edomites west of the Jordan River. The Edomites appear in the story of the wilderness journey in the Pentateuch as both hostile (Num 20–21) and hospitable (Deut 1–3) to the Israelites. The book of Joshua shares the positive view of the Edomites from Deut 1–3; Caleb is identified as a Kenizzite (Edomite) in Josh 14, 15; and the historical summary in Josh 24 also underscores that Yahweh gave Esau the hill country of Seir (24:4; for further discussion, see the "Comments" to Josh 24).

wilderness of Zin. The Hebrew *midbar-ṣin* designates a southern location in the Negeb, which is always associated with Kadesh (see the "Notes" to 10:41). The wilderness of Zin is the location for the spy story in the non-Priestly account of the wilderness journey (Num 13–14), where it functions as the southernmost border of the land with Rehob, near Lebo-hamath, designating the northern border (Num 13:21; see the "Notes" to Josh 13:5). There are two references to the location in the book of Joshua: The first is "the wilderness of Zin" (15:1), and the second is "toward Zin" (*ṣinnâ;* 15:3). Both designate the southern boundary of the tribe of Judah. The same references appear in Num 34:3–4, suggesting an inner-biblical relationship between Josh 15 and Num 34. The LXX separates the two references to Zin as distinct locations. The Hebrew *midbar-ṣin* is translated *tēs erēmou sin,* "the wilderness of Sin" (15:1; LXXA translates *sim*), while the Hebrew *ṣinâ,* "toward Zin," is rendered as the location *sena,* "Sena" (15:3, LXXA; LXXB translates *sennak*). The same distinction in place-names occurs in the LXX of Num 34:3–4 (see de Vos, 2003: 21, for further comment on Num 34:4).

toward the south, the extreme south. The MT *negbâ miqṣeh têmān* is an unusual and even redundant phrase, apparently designating the south twice (Noth, 1971b: 82). The phrase is absent in the LXX, which describes Judah's southern border as extending "as far as Kades to the southwest" (*heōs kadēs pros liba*). Holmes (1914: 60) suggested that the Hebrew *miqṣeh,* "from the end," may have been read in the LXX as *qdš,* "Kadesh." De Vos (2003: 19) suggests harmonization in the LXX to include Kadesh with the wilderness of Zin, as is the case in Num 27:14 and 33:26.

15:2 *Salt Sea.* See the "Notes" to 3:16.

from the inlet. The Hebrew *min-hallāšōn* means "tongue," but it can also designate something that is "tongue-shaped," as an inlet of the sea. The LXX *apo tēs lophias tēs pherousēs,* "from the ridge that rises," shifts the topographical imagery from the bay or inlet of the sea to a plateau or mountain range. The geographical location is the southern tip of the Dead Sea.

15:3 *the ascent of Akrabbim.* The Hebrew *lĕma'ălēh 'aqrabbîm* means "step of the scorpions." M. Görg (1992) identified the same location in a topographical list from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes and the Palestine List of Thutmose II (N. 94), indicating the significance of the site for Egyptian travel to copper mines in the Arabah region. Noth (1971b: 87) identified the ancient site with contemporary Naqb es-Sfar, but this identification is not firm. The location occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible (Num 34:4, Josh 15:3, Judg 1:36). Numbers 34:4 and Josh 15:3 identify Akrabbim as the southern border of Judah. Judges 1:36 describes the location as the border of the Amorites, who successfully withstood the attempt of the Danites to settle in the area. C. C. McKinny (2016: 51) identified the area as the Arabah south of the Dead Sea. The ascent of Akrabbim is likely related to Akrabattene (Greek, *akrabattēne*), which is the location where Judas Maccabeus defeated the Idumeans (1 Macc 5:3).

Kadesh-barnea. See the "Notes" to 10:41.

Hezron. The Hebrew *ḥeṣrôn* likely means "settlement, camp." The location designates two place-names in the book of Joshua: (1) Hezron is part of the southern border of Judah in 15:3 (see also Num 34:4). Numbers 34:4 departs from Josh 15:3 with a different spelling, *ḥăṣar,* and by combining the two locations of Hezron/Hazar and Addar in Josh 15:3 as one site, *ḥăṣar-'addār,* "Hazar-addar." The LXX translates the MT Hezron in Josh 15:3 as *asōrōn,* "Asoron"; the LXX of Num 34:4 replaces the Hebrew *ḥăṣar-*

ʾaddār with Arad. (2) Kerioth-hezron, *qeriyyôt ḥeṣrôn,* in Josh 15:25 is identified with an unknown southern location, Hazor (*hîʾ ḥāṣôr;* see also the reference to Hazor in 15:23). For discussion of the distinct locations of Hazor, see the "Notes" to 11:1.

Addar. The Hebrew *ʾaddār* occurs only in Josh 15:3 and in Num 34:4. The location appears as a compound word in the MT of Num 34:4 (*ḥăṣar-ʾaddār*) and is absent in the LXX of Num 34:4 (see the "Notes" to Hezron above).

Karka. The Hebrew *qarqāʿ* means "the floor." The location occurs only in Josh 15:3. The LXX replaces the location with *kadēs,* "Kades."

15:4 *Azmon.* The Hebrew *ʿaṣmôn* means "place of the bones." The location occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, as a southern border to the Priestly account of the boundaries of the land (Num 34:4) and as the southern border of Judah (Josh 15:4).

Wadi of Egypt. The Hebrew *naḥal miṣrayim* designates a southern brook or ravine, which marks the boundary between Egypt to the south and Syria-Palestine to the north. Na'aman (1979) identified references to the location in Neo-Assyrian documents from Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Esarhaddon. The Wadi of Egypt has been identified with the Wadi el 'Arish at the base of the Mediterranean Sea or the Nahal Bezor, a location farther north on the Mediterranean seacoast, due west of the base of the Dead Sea. The Wadi of Egypt occurs nine times in the Hebrew Bible, where it marks the southern border of the land in different contexts: The Wadi of Egypt and Lebo-hamath mark the southern and northern borders of Solomon's kingdom (1 Kgs 8:65, 1 Chr 7:8); the Wadi of Egypt is paired with the Euphrates River to describe territory that Nebuchadnezzar took from the Egyptians (2 Kgs 24:7) and that Yahweh would reclaim for Israel in the end time (Isa 27:12). The Wadi of Egypt also marks the southern boundary to the land without a paired reference to the north (e.g., Num 34:5; Ezek 47:19, 48:28). The two occurrences in Joshua indicate the southern boundary of the territory of Judah (Josh 15:4, 47). There is debate whether the *naḥal miṣrayim,* "the Wadi of Egypt," should be separated from the reference to the *nahar miṣrayim,* "the River of Egypt," in Gen 15:18, in which case the latter would indicate the Nile River. The LXX translates Josh 15:4 *pharaggos aiguptou,* "the ravine of Egypt," and 15:47, *tou cheimarrou aiguptou,* "the brook of Egypt."

this will be your southern border. The LXX translates the second-person plural of the MT *zeh-yihyeh lākem,* "this will be to you," in the third person, *touto estin autōn,* "this will be their."

15:5 *And the border to the side of the north.* The Hebrew *ûgĕbûl lipʾat ṣāpônâ,* "the border to/of the side/corner of the north," suggests a genitive construction, which is rendered in the LXX *apo borra,* "from/out of the north."

15:6 *Beth-hoglah.* The Hebrew *bêt ḥōglâ* may mean "house of the partridge." Y. Elitzer (2004: 39) notes, however, that the root *ḥgl* in Palestinian Aramaic means "circular place." The city appears three times in the Hebrew Bible, with all of the occurrences in the book of Joshua (15:6; 18:19, 21). Beth-hoglah designates the northeastern border of Judah in 15:6 (LXX *baithagla*), a location in the area just north of the Dead Sea at the mouth of the Jordan River. Some historical geographers associate the ancient site with contemporary Dier Hajlah, a location southeast of Jericho, although, as Kallai (1986: 118–19) noted, confirmation is lacking. In 18:19, Beth-hoglah is part of the southern boundary of Benjamin, the tribal territory just north of Judah. Joshua 18:21 creates confusion over tribal boundaries, however, because it designates Beth-hoglah as one of the towns within the territory of Benjamin (LXXA *bethagla,* LXXB *baitheglio*).

Beth-arabah. The Hebrew *bêt hāʿărābâ* may mean "house of the desert rift" (Boling and Wright, 1982: 366). The place-name occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible, with all of the references in the book of Joshua (15:6, 61; 18:18, 22); it is located in the vicinity of Beth-hoglah. Joshua 15:6 and 18:18 state that the location marks the northern border of Judah (15:6) and the southern border of Benjamin (18:18). Again, Joshua 15:61 and 18:22 create confusion by designating the location as a town both in Judah (15:61) and in Benjamin (18:22). The site has been identified with Ain el-gharabeh (Boling and Wright, 1982: 366) and Tell Muhalhal (McKinny, 2016: 580), among other locations.

Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son. The Hebrew *ʾeben bōhan ben-rĕʾûbēn* suggests a specific topographical location west of the Jordan River, even though the tribe of Reuben is associated with the eastern side of the Jordan (see the "Comments" to Josh 13). The location remains unidentified by historical geographers. The two references to the site occur in the book of Joshua, as a marker for the northern border of Judah (15:6) and for the southern border of Benjamin (18:17).

15:7 *toward Debir from the valley of Achor.* The Hebrew syntax is difficult. The use of the directional *he* in the phrase *wĕʿālâ haggĕbûl dĕbirāh,* "and the border went up toward Debir," follows the pattern of the border throughout Josh 15. But the use of the preposition *min* in the phrase *mēʿēmeq ʿākôr,* "from the valley of Achor," is isolated syntactically. The LXX presents a distinct reading, *epi to tetarton tēs pharaggos achōr,* "to the fourth (part) of the valley of Achor," which lacks a reference to Debir. See de Vos (2003: 26) for a range of possible solutions, none of which provides a satisfactory solution to the MT or the LXX. The reference to Debir in 10:38 indicates a more southern city that was destroyed, suggesting Debir in 15:7 may indicate a second city farther north. Debir may be a reference to a sanctuary, according to Kallai (1986: 119), since the Hebrew *dĕbir* also refers to the innermost part of the temple; or it may refer to pastureland for sheep, *dōber-midbar.* For discussion of Debir, see the "Notes" to 10:38; for discussion of the valley of Achor, see the "Notes" to 7:14.

toward Gilgal. The MT writes the place-name with the definite article *haggilgāl,* "the Gilgal." The LXX does not include the definite article, *epi galgal.* The description of the southern border of Benjamin in 18:17, which tends to correspond to the northern border of Judah, designates the location differently, *gelilōth,* which may be a place-name, "Gelilot," or a reference to "districts," as in 13:2.

the ascent of Adummim. The Hebrew *maʿăleh ʾădūmmîm* may designate the place-name Maaleh-adummim, or simply, Adummim. The Hebrew *ʾadūmmîm* derives from the root *ʾdm,* meaning "red," suggesting the translation "Red Places." Elitzer (2004: 133) adds that the name describes the local topography, which consists of a steep decline from Jerusalem to Jericho on red-colored rocks. The place-name occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, both times in the book of Joshua, as a description of the northern border of Judah (15:7) and the southern border of Benjamin (18:17). Noth (1971b: 87) identified Adummim with the contemporary site of Tal'at 'ed-Damm, on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho, but the location remains uncertain.

the waters of En-Shemesh. The Hebrew *mê-ʿên-šemeš* means "waters of the spring of the Sun." The place-name occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, both times in the book of Joshua, as a description of the northern border of Judah (15:7) and the southern border of Benjamin (18:17). The ancient site is often identified with 'En 'el-Hod, a spring located by the road that runs between Jerusalem and Bethany. The LXX translates *to hudōr pēgēs hēliou,* "the water of the spring of the sun" (15:7), and *pēgēn baithsamus,* "spring of Baithsamus" (18:17).

En-rogel. The Hebrew *ʿên rōgēl* means "spring of the fuller." Kallai (1986: 121) and many other historical geographers identify the site with Bir ʾAyub, a location just south of Jerusalem, where the valleys of Hinnom and Kidron merge. En-rogel is the place outside of Jerusalem where Jonathan and Ahimaaz would receive information to pass along to King David about the revolt of Absalom (2 Sam 17:17). En-rogel is also the site where Adonijah sacrificed in an attempt to gain the monarchy at the end of David's reign (1 Kgs 1:9). En-rogel occurs twice in the book of Joshua, as the northern border of Judah (15:7) and as the southern border of Benjamin (18:16).

15:8 *valley of the Son-of-Hinnom.* The Hebrew *gê ben-hinnōm,* "valley of the Son-of-Hinnom," also occurs as *gê-hinnōm,* "valley of Hinnom," later in the verse. The location is on the west and south sides of Jerusalem, running eastward until it joins with the Kidron Valley on the west side of Jerusalem. The valley is identified with the Wadi er-Rababi. The location is also known simply as "the valley," *haggayʾ* (e.g., Neh 2:13, Jer 2:23). The valley of Hinnom was infamous in biblical tradition because of its association with child sacrifice at the cultic site of the Topheth (2 Kgs 23:10, Jer 7:32) related to the worship of Molech (2 Kgs 23:10). The three references in the book of Joshua are restricted to marking the northern boundary of Judah (15:8 [twice]) and the southern boundary of Benjamin (18:16). The summary statement in the MT of Neh 11:30 (absent in the LXX), "so they camped from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom," may reflect the same postexilic concerns over territory as Josh 15:8 (Seleznev, 2005: 348).

the shoulder of. The Hebrew *ketep,* "shoulder," means "mountain slope" (*HALOT* 504). The LXX translates *nōtou,* "backside, slope." Kallai (1986: 128) concluded the Hebrew, *ketep,* can refer to a "city-hill" when the setting is the plain or "the edge of the ridge or range" when the setting is the mountains.

Jebusites. See the "Notes" to 3:10.

Jerusalem. See the "Notes" to 10:1.

valley of the Rephaim. The Hebrew *ʿēmeq-rĕpāʾîm* designates a location southwest of Jerusalem. The site occurs as the setting for a battle with the Philistines during the reign of David (2 Sam 5:18, 1 Chr 11:15) and the location for a legendary act of bravery against the Philistines by three of David's heroic men (2 Sam 23:13). It also appears once in poetry (Isa 17:5). The two occurrences in the book of Joshua indicate its role in marking the northern border of Judah (15:8) and the southern border of Benjamin (18:16). For discussion of the Rephaim, see the "Notes" to 12:4.

15:9 *waters of Nephtoah.* The Hebrew *mê neptôaḥ* designates a location just north of Jerusalem. The location occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, both times in Joshua, to describe the northern border of Judah (15:9) and the southern border of Benjamin (18:15). In both instances the location occurs in the longer phrase, *maʿyan mê neptôaḥ,* "spring of the waters of Nephtoah," which may translate "spring of Merneptah," corresponding to the reference "wells of Merneptah" in the Papyrus Anastasi III (*ANET* 258).

the cities of Mount Ephron. The Hebrew *har-ʿeprôn* designates a mountain range between Judah and Benjamin. The reference to *ʿārê,* "cities," in the MT creates some confusion; the original reading may have been "ruins," *ʿiyyê,* rather than "cities" (see Greenspoon, 1983: 76–78; Barthélemy, 1982: 34–35). The LXXB lacks the reference or is a corruption of the original Greek (Nelson, 1997: 184). The contemporary location of the site is debated; Boling and Wright (1982: 369) and Kallai (1986b: 122) suggest el-Qastel near Mozah, while J. J. Simons (1959: 140–41) identified the site with Beit Surik.

Baalah. The Hebrew *baʿălâ* means "the dwelling place of the female Baal" (Noth, 1971b: 144). Multiple forms of the Hebrew place-name occur in Josh 15: (1) Baalah (MT *baʿălâ,* LXX *baal*) designates a location west of Jerusalem, as part of the northern border of Judah (15:9). The city is also identified with Kiriath-jearim (see the "Notes" to 9:17). (2) Kiriath-baal (MT *kiryat-baʿal,* LXX *kariathbaal*) identifies a city in the territory of Judah (15:60) that also marks the southern border of Benjamin (18:14), corresponding to Baalah in 15:9. Both Baalah (15:9) and Kiriath-baal (15:60) are identified with Kiriath-jearim (for discussion of Kiriath-jearim, see the "Notes" to 9:17). (3) Mount Baalah (MT *har-habbaʿălâ,* LXX *oros tēs bala*) is a mountain range on the northern border of Judah farther west of Baalah (15:11). The location is absent in the description of the southern border of Benjamin (18:13–19); but it may correspond to Baalath in the description of Dan, whose southern border extends farther west than Benjamin (19:40–48). The Greek translates the Baalath in Dan (19:44) as *gebeelan* (LXXB) and *baalon* (LXXA). (4) Baalath (MT *baʿălāt,* LXX *baalōn;* and absent or *gebeelan,* LXXB) is a location in the western part of the territory of Dan (19:44), which may correspond to Mount Baalah in the territory of Judah (15:11). (5) Baalah (MT *baʿălâ,* LXXB *bala,* LXXA *baala*) is a city in the southern area of Judah within the Negeb (15:29). Although spelled differently, this location may correspond to (6) Balah in the region of Simeon (19:3). (7) Bealoth (MT *bĕʿālôt,* LXXB *balmainan,* LXXA *balōth*) describes yet another town in the southern region of Judah within the Negeb (15:24), which may correspond to (8) Baalath-beer in the list of cities belonging to the tribe of Simeon (19:8; MT *baʿălat bĕʾēr,* LXXA *baaleth-bērramōth,* and LXXB *barek*). The Hebrew of 1 Chr 4:33 identifies this site as *bāʿal,* "Baal" (LXX *baal*). The relationship of Baalath-beer to the Judean town of Bealoth (15:24), the Solomonic city of Baalath (1 Kgs 9:18, 2 Chr 8:5–6), and perhaps even the Judean town of Baalah (Josh 15:29) is unclear.

Kiriath-jearim. See the "Notes" to 9:17.

15:10 *Mount Seir.* The reference to Mount Seir must be distinguished from the more common designation of Mount Seir as a southern mountain range associated with Edom (e.g., Deut 33:2; Josh 11:17, 12:7; see the "Notes" to 11:17). The LXX clarifies the distinction, translating *opos assures,* "Mount Assares" (15:10), as compared to *seir,* "Seir" (11:17, 12:7), and *oros to sēir,* "Mount Seir" (24:4). Kallai (1986: 122) identifies the northern Mount Seir with the range of Sores-Beth Meir.

Mount Jearim. The Hebrew *har-yĕʿārîm* means "wooded mountain." The reference is limited to 15:10. Kallai (1986: 122) suggests a mountain ridge west of Chesalon.

Chesalon. Or Chesil/Chesulloth/Chesloth-tabor. The Hebrew place-name derives from the root *ksl,* meaning "loin"; it designates four place-names in the book of Joshua: (1) Chesalon (MT *kĕsālôn*) is a part of the northern border of Judah (15:10). Kallai (1986: 122) locates the site at the end of the Mount Jearim range. (2) Chesulloth is a city in Issachar (19:18). It is likely identical with Chisloth-tabor (19:12). Albright (1926: 226) identified the location with modern Iksal (see also Kallai, 1986: 421). (3) Chisloth-tabor is a city on the southern border of Zebulun (19:12). Historical geographers associate the site with the contemporary village of Iksal approximately three miles west of Mount Tabor. Chesulloth and Chisloth-tabor may designate the same location, since the territories of Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar appear to meet at Mount Tabor in the book of Joshua (Albright, 1926: 232). (4) Chesil is a city in southern Judah (15:30) in the Negeb within the area of Hormah and Ziklag. The Hebrew *kĕsîl* is translated as *chasil* in the LXXA but replaced with *baithel* in the LXXB. The translation of the LXXB, *baithel,* also appears in the list of cities within the region of Simeon (19:4; MT *bĕtûl,* LXXB *boula,* absent in LXXA) and in 1 Chr 4:30 (MT *bĕtû'ēl,* LXX *bathouēl*).

Beth-shemesh. The Hebrew *bêt-šemeš* means "seat/house of the sun (god)," and it designates four locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Beth-shemesh is a location in Judah on the northern border of the territory (15:10) and a city of refuge (21:16). Outside of the book of Joshua, this location is the setting for the story of the return of the ark of Yahweh to Israel after its capture by the Philistines (1 Sam 6). It is also the setting where Joash, the king of Israel, defeats Amaziah, the king of Judah (e.g., 2 Kgs 14:11, 13; 2 Chr 25:21, 23). (2) Beth-shemesh is a location farther north in the region of Naphtali (19:38) associated with Beth-anath. The Greek replaces the MT reference to Beth-shemesh with *thessamus,* "Thessamus" (LXXA), and *thasmous,* "Thasmous" (LXXB). Beth-shemesh in Naphtali reappears in Judg 1:33. (3) Beth-shemesh is a location in the tribal region of Issachar (19:22). (4) Ir-shemesh is a location in the region of Dan (19:41), identified with Tell er-Rumeileh (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 319).

Timnah. The Hebrew *timnâ* designates three distinct locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Timnah is located on the northwestern border of Judah (15:10), which is also assigned to the tribe of Dan (19:43). Historical geographers identify the site with Tell el-Batashi. The location is the setting for a series of legendary stories about Samson and his marriage to a Philistine woman (Judg 14–15), where the city is a Philistine possession, rather than an Israelite center. The LXX lacks the reference to Timnah in Josh 15:10 and replaces the place-name with the prepositional phrase *epi liba,* "toward the south." (2) Timnah is a location in the southern hill country of Judah (15:57). Historical geographers have not identified the location. The same site may also appear in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen 38:12–19). (3) Timnath-serah is a city in the highland region of Ephraim given to Joshua (19:50); it is also the burial place of Joshua (24:30; LXX *thamnathasachara*). Two possible locations are near Khirbet Tibneh and Kafr Haris (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 376). Joshua's burial site repeats in Judg 2:9 as Timnath-heres (MT *timnat-ḥeres,* LXX *thamnathares*).

15:11 *Ekron.* See the "Notes" to 13:3.

Shikkeron. The Hebrew *šikkĕrôn* occurs once in 15:11 as part of the northern border of Judah. Noth (1971b: 89) suspected a corruption in the MT from dittography, which would eliminate the location, while Kallai (1986: 123) identified the site with Qatrah.

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15:12 *Great Sea.* See the "Notes" to 1:4.

15:13 *he gave.* The MT lacks a subject for the verb *nātān.* The LXX repeats the verb "to give," *edōken,* and includes the subject as Joshua in the second occurrence, "he gave a portion . . . Iesous gave him the city of Arbok."

according to the command of Yahweh to Joshua. The Hebrew *'el-pî yhwh lîhôšūa',* "according to the command (mouth) of Yahweh to Joshua," does not indicate a direct divine command to Joshua. It signifies the divine authority of the command to which Joshua was bound. Joshua 17:4 illustrates the distinction between divine oral command and actions that follow "the command of Yahweh." The daughters of Zelophehad root their claim to land in an oral command to Moses: "Yahweh commanded (*ṣiwwâ*) Moses to give us an inheritance." Once the command is given, they state that Moses acted "according to the commandment of Yahweh" (*'el-pî yhwh*). Similarly here, Joshua does not receive a direct divine command (*ṣiwwâ*) from the Deity, but he does act in accordance with a prior divine command (*pî yhwh*).

Kiriath-arba . . . the father of Anak. The MT *'abî,* "father," is written in the LXX as *mētropolin,* "metropolis" or "mother city of Enak." See the "Notes" to 14:15.

Hebron. See the "Notes" to 10:3.

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15:15 *He ascended.* The LXX writes "Caleb ascended."

Debir. See the "Notes" to 10:38.

Kiriath-sepher. The Hebrew *qiryat sēper* means "book city" or "scribal city." The place-name occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible in the different accounts of Caleb either conquering the city or receiving it as a gift (Josh 15:15, 16; Judg 1:11).

Achsah. The name derives from *'ekes,* meaning "anklet" or "bracelet."

15:18 *And when she entered* . . . The MT and the LXX diverge in this verse. See Table 4.

Table 4. MT and LXX versions of Josh 15:18

MT	*LXX*
(1) And when she entered,	(1) And it happened, when she came in,
(2) she enticed him to request from her father a field.	(2) that she advised him, saying, "I will ask my father for a field."
(3) And when she descended from the donkey,	(3) And she cried out from the donkey,
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three miles west of Mount Tabor. Chesulloth and Chisloth-tabor may designate the same location, since the territories of Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar appear to meet at Mount Tabor in the book of Joshua (Albright, 1926: 232). (4) Chesil is a city in southern Judah (15:30) in the Negeb within the area of Hormah and Ziklag. The Hebrew *kĕsîl* is translated as *chasil* in the LXXA but replaced with *baithel* in the LXXB. The translation of the LXXB, *baithel,* also appears in the list of cities within the region of Simeon (19:4; MT *bĕtûl,* LXXB *boula,* absent in LXXA) and in 1 Chr 4:30 (MT *bĕtû'ēl,* LXX *bathouēl*).

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(3) And when she descended from the donkey,	(3) And she cried out from the donkey,
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to request from her father a field. The MT *liš'ōl mē'ēt-'ābîhā śādeh* indicates Achsah wishes her husband, Othniel, to request the field from Caleb. In the LXX, Achsah is to request the field, *legousa aitēsomay ton patera mou agron,* "saying, 'I will ask my father for a field." The LXX version of the story in Judg 1:14 adds yet another reading, in which the husband urges Achsah to request the field from her father, *kai egeneto en tō eisporeuesthai autēn kai epeseisen autēn aitēsai para tou patrous autēs ton agron,* "And it happened when she entered, that he urged her to request a field from her father." Both versions of the LXX fit the context of the story better than the MT.

And when she descended from the donkey. The Hebrew *watiṣnaḥ* is unclear. The verb suggests the image of descending from the animal. The LXX *kai eboēsen ek tou onou,* "and she cried out from the donkey," suggests a different interpretation of the Hebrew or a different Hebrew *Vorlage.* The LXX of Judg 1:14 presents an expanded version of the story, *kai egogguzen epanō tou hupozugiou kai ekraxen apo tou hupozugiou,* "she grumbled on the mule and cried out from the mule."

15:19 *blessing.* The Hebrew *bĕrākâ* could also be translated "gift."

pools of water. The Hebrew *gūllōt māyim* does not appear to be a place-name, although the additional description of "upper" and "lower" springs raises the question of a more specific site in the area of Debir. The LXX translation *golathmain,* "Golath-maim," clearly suggests a specific place-name. The LXX account of Judg 1:15, *lutrōsin hudatos,* "pool of water," corresponds more closely to the MT of Josh 15:19.

15:21 *The cities of the entire area belonging to the tribe of Judah.* The Hebrew *miqṣēh lĕmaṭṭēh bĕnê-yĕhûdâ* is difficult to translate. The Hebrew *miqṣēh* often means "end," which would translate "the end (extreme) south" (see the NRSV). The translation "the entire area" follows A. B. Ehrlich's (1910: 46) more geographically inclusive meaning "alles mitgerechnet."

in the south. The Hebrew *bannegbâ* may also be translated "in the Negeb," which frequently designates a specific southern territory (McKinny, 2016: 79–82), as in Gen 20:1 when Abraham is described as journeying "toward the region of the Negeb" (NRSV).

Kabzeel. The location is limited to Josh 15:21. The place-name remains unidentified. The site is associated with Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, one of the thirty heroes of David who killed a Moabite, an Egyptian, and a lion (2 Sam 23:20, 1 Chr 11:22). The notice in Neh 11:25 that the returnees from exile settled in Jekabzeel, *yaqqabṣĕ'ēl,* is likely a reference to the same place.

Eder. The Hebrew *'ēder* occurs once in Josh 15:21. The majority of the Greek texts translate *ara.* Boling and Wright (1982: 379) suggest that Eder is Arad, resulting from a metathesis of the Hebrew letters *res* and *dalet* (see also H. N. Rösel, 2011: 249).

Jagur. The Hebrew *yāgûr* occurs once in Josh 15:21. Jagur appears in the Arad Inscription 42, suggesting its location within the eastern region of the Negeb, but a firm identification is lacking (see the discussion in H. N. Rösel, 2011: 249). The LXX translates *asōr,* which is more often the translation for the Hebrew Hazor.

15:22 *Kinah.* The Hebrew *qînâ* occurs only in Josh 15:22. The site remains unidentified, although Aharoni (1979: 262) tentatively suggested Wadi el-Qeni. The mention of Kinah on an ostracon from Arad may also suggest Kh. Ghazzah (Lemaire, 1973: 20; see also de Vos, 2003: 362; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 249).

Dimonah. The Hebrew *dîmônâ* occurs once in Josh 15:22; the location is unknown.

Adadah. The Hebrew *'adādâ* occurs once in Josh 15:22. The LXX writes *arouēl,* which has prompted some scholars to view the MT as a corruption of *wĕ'arārâ,* "Ararah" (the Hebrew *res* was read as *dalet;* see also 1 Sam 30:28), suggesting modern Khirbet Aroer or Tell Esdar (Kallai, 1986b: 358).

15:23 *Kedesh.* The Hebrew *qedeš* is likely an unknown location. Kallai (1986: 358–59) suggests a variant form of Kadesh/Kadesh-barnea. See the "Notes" to 10:41. The LXX translates *kadēs.*

Hazor. See the "Notes" to 11:1. The LXX combines the place-name with the following location, Ithanan, *asoriōnain.* Cross and Wright (1956: 212) favor the LXX.

Ithnan. The Hebrew *yitnān* occurs once in Josh 15:23. The LXX combines the place-name with Hazor, *asoriōnain.*

15:24 *Ziph.* The Hebrew *zîp* indicates two locations in Josh 15: (1) Ziph is a location in the southwestern Negeb near the border of Moab (15:24); it remains unidentified. The LXX lacks reference to the site. (2) Ziph is a location in the southeastern region of Hebron (15:55). The Greek translates *ziph* (LXXA) and *ozib* (LXXB). The location reappears in the story of David's conflict with Saul (1 Sam 23, 1 Chr 24, Ps 54), where it is also described as the "wilderness of Ziph" (*midbar zîp;* LXX *orei ziph*). Historical geographers tentatively identify this site with Khirbet es-Zeife (McKinny, 2016: 125–26). Ziph also appears as a proper name in the genealogy of Caleb in 1 Chr 2 and 4 (Ziph, 1 Chr 2:43; and Ziphah, 1 Chr 4:16; MT *zîpâ,* LXX *zapha*).

Telem. The Hebrew *ṭelem* occurs once in Josh 15:24; the location is unknown. Telem also appears as the proper name of a gatekeeper in Ezra 10:24.

Bealoth. See the "Notes" to 15:9.

15:25 *Hazor-hadattah.* See the "Notes" to 11:1.

Kerioth-hezron. See the "Notes" to 11:1.

Hazor. See the "Notes" to 11:1.

15:26 *Amam.* The Hebrew *'ămām* occurs once in Josh 15:26. The Greek translates *sēn* (LXXB) and *amam* (LXXA). The location remains unknown.

Shema. The Hebrew *šĕma'* may occur as a place-name twice in the book of Joshua: (1) Shema is a southern city in the region of Judah (15:26). The Greek translates *samaa* (LXXA) and *salmaa* (LXXB). (2) Shema may also be a city in the region of Simeon, if the Hebrew *šĕba'* in 19:2 is corrected to *šĕma'* on the basis of the LXXB *samaa* (but compare *sabee* in the LXXA). A person, Shema, occurs in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 2:43), as a member of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:3) and Reuben (1 Chr 5:8), and as a participant in the reading of the law by Ezra (Neh 8:4).

Moladah. The Hebrew *môlādâ* designates a location in the Negeb region of Judah, which remains unidentified, although Boling and Wright (1982: 382) speculate that Khirbet el-Waten, east-northeast of Beersheba, may be the contemporary site. Moladah reappears as a location in Simeon (19:2). It also appears in 1 Chr 4:28 and Neh 11:26 as a city in Judah to which the exiles returned.

15:27 *Hazar-gaddah.* The Hebrew *ḥăzar gaddâ* occurs only in Josh 15:27. The Greek translates *asarsoula* (LXXA) and *seri* (LXXB).

Heshmon. The Hebrew *ḥešmôn* occurs once in Josh 15:27 as a location in the southwestern part of Judah; the location is absent in the LXX.

Beth-pelet. The Hebrew *bêt-peleṭ* occurs in the vicinity of Beersheba. The location reappears in Neh 11:26 as a city to which the exiles returned. The person *peleṭ*, "Pelet," appears in the genealogy of Caleb in 1 Chr 2:47.

15:28 *Hazar-shual.* The Hebrew *ḥăṣar šûʿāl* occurs as a southern site in Judah (15:28) and in Simeon (Josh 19:3, 1 Chr 4:28), as well as a city to which the exiles returned (Neh 11:27).

Beersheba. The Hebrew *bĕʾēr šebaʿ* occurs twice in the book of Joshua, as a location in Judah (15:28) and in Simeon (19:2; see also 1 Chr 4:28); it is associated with Tell es-Saba'. Beersheba plays a significant role in the stories of the ancestors and as a southern border to the land. The treaty between Abraham and Abimelech over water rights provides the first etiology of Beersheba as either "Well of Seven" or "Well of Oath" (Gen 21:22–34). A second etiology occurs when Isaac finds water at the same site (Gen 26:17–33). Jacob is also associated with Beersheba (Gen 28:10); it is the location where he sacrificed to Yahweh on the way to Egypt (Gen 46:1–5). The most common reference to Beersheba is in the summary of the geographical limits to the land, "from Beersheba to Dan," where Beersheba marks the southernmost border of the land (e.g., Judg 20:1; 1 Sam 3:20, 8:2; 2 Sam 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kgs 5:5 [Eng. 5:25]; 1 Chr 21:2; 2 Chr 30:5; possibly also Amos 8:14).

Biziothiah. The Hebrew *bizyôtĕyâ* may be a place-name, "Biziothiah," or more likely a corruption of the Hebrew *bĕnnôtêhâ*, "and its daughters" (see Cross and Wright, 1956: 212). If it is a place-name, it represents a location in the southern area of Judah. If the MT is a corrupted form of the phrase "and its daughters," it signifies villages in the surrounding area of Beersheba. The LXX *hai kōmai autōn*, "and their villages," suggests that the MT may be corrupted. Nehemiah 11:25–36 contains the list of villages to which the exiles returned, which has tended to include many of the place-names of Judah from Joshua 15. In Neh 11:27, *bĕnôtêhâ*, "and its daughters," also appears instead of *bizyôtĕyâ*, "Biziothiah," further reinforcing the LXX reading over the MT of Josh 15:28.

15:29 *Baalah.* See the "Notes" to 15:9.

Iim. The Hebrew *ʿiyyîm* means "ruins." The location occurs as a city in the southern area of Judah (15:29), but it is absent from the list of Simeon (19:1–9) and in the genealogy of Simeon (1 Chr 4:29). A distinct city, Ain, is also identified as a location in Moab (Num 33:35; possibly also in Num 21:11).

Ezem. The Hebrew *ʿeṣem* occurs as a location in Judah (15:29) and in Simeon (Josh 19:3, 1 Chr 4:29). Kallai (1986: 352) identifies the site with Umm e'-Azam, which would be south of Beersheba.

15:30 *Eltolad.* The Hebrew *ʾeltôlad* occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a city in Judah (15:30) and in Simeon (19:4). An abbreviated form of the name, *tôlad*, occurs as a place-name within Simeon in 1 Chr 4:29.

Chesil. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

Hormah. See the "Notes" to 12:14.

15:31 *Ziklag.* The Hebrew *ṣiqlag* is a city in Judah (15:31) and in Simeon (19:5; see also 1 Chr 4:30). Ziklag also appears as a Philistine city in a series of stories about David (1 Sam 30, 1 Chr 12); it is also identified as a location to which the exiles returned (Neh 11:28). Historical geographers suggest a number of possible contemporary sites

for Ziklag, including Tell el-Khuweilfeh, a location north of Beersheba, and Tell esh-Sharia, a location farther west.

Madmannah. The Hebrew *madmannâ* occurs once in Josh 15:31 as a city in Judah. It has been identified with Kh. Umm Deimneh and more recently with Kh. Tatriṭ (de Vos, 2003: 371). The LXXA translates *medebena*, "Medebēna," while the LXXB replaces the location with *macharim*, "Macharim." A person, Madmannah (LXX *machabēna*), appears in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 2:49).

Sansannah. The Hebrew *sansannâ* occurs once in Josh 15:31 as a city in Judah; it is identified with Kh. Esh-Shamsānīyāt.

15:32 *Lebaoth.* The Hebrew *lĕbāʾôt* is a city in Judah in Josh 15:31, which may be a shortened form of *bêt lĕbāʾôt* in 19:6, where the city is identified within the region of Simeon. The location is absent in the genealogy of Simeon in 1 Chr 4:31, where it is replaced by *bêt birʾî*, Beth-biri.

Shilhim. The Hebrew *šilḥîm* occurs once in Josh 15:32 as a city within the territory of Judah. The town list of Simeon in 19:6 departs from 15:32, writing *šārûhen*, "Sharuhen" (absent in the LXX). The list of the cities of Simeon in 1 Chr 4:31 provides yet another reading, *šaʿărāyîm*, "Shaaraim." (LXX *oikon baroumseōrim*, "house of Baroumseorim"). Boling and Wright (1982: 384) argue that the names represent one location.

Ain. The Hebrew *ʿayin* identifies a southern town that must be distinguished from Ain in Num 34:11, where it designates a northern city in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee. The MT of Josh 15:32 may be a textual corruption, in which Ain and Rimmon were mistakenly separated into distinct locations, as opposed to one location, En-rimmon (see Cross and Wright, 1956: 212). The reference to Ain in the MT of 15:32 is either absent in the LXX or perhaps combined with Rimmon in the LXXB *erōmōth*, "Eromoth." The town lists of Simeon in Josh 19:7 and in 1 Chr 4:32 may support the reading of one city, *ʿayin rimmôn*, although the construct form *ʿên* is absent (prompting the translation of the NRSV, "Ain, Rimmon"). The LXX of 19:7 appears to go in two directions, with the LXXA translating two cities, *ain kai remmōn*, "Ain and Remmon," and the LXXB one location, *eremmōn*, "Eremmon." The LXX of 1 Chr 4:32 is one city, *enremmōn*, "Enremmon." The interpretation of Ain is further complicated by the list of Levitical cities of Judah in Josh 21:6, where the MT writes *ʿayin*, "Ain," and the LXX, *asa*, "Asa/Asan." The LXX reading of the city reappears in both the MT, *ʿāšān*, "Ashan," and the LXX, *asan*, "Asan," versions of the Levitical cities of Judah in 1 Chr 4:44.

Rimmon. The Hebrew *rimmôn* identifies two different locations in Joshua: (1) Rimmon is a city in the southern territory of Judah (15:32), perhaps identified with Tell el-Khuweilifeh (Noth, 1971b: 113). It is also a city within Simeon in 19:7. The identification with Simeon reappears in 1 Chr 4:32. Rimmon is likely the same city in Judah, *ʿîn rimmon*, "En-rimmon," to which the exiles return (Neh 11:29, see the discussion of Ain above). (2) Rimmon is a northern city in Zebulun (19:13). The Hebrew phrase *rimmôn hammetōʾār hannēʿâ*, "Rimmon it bends Neah," has been interpreted as a place-name in the LXX, *remmona amathar aoza*, "Rimmon Hammethoar Haoza," but it is more likely the location, Rimmon, as in the MT. The northern location of Rimmon likely reappears in the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6:62 (Eng. 6:77; MT *rimmônô*, LXX *remmōn*), which raises a question about the reference to Dimnah (MT *dimnâ*, LXX *demna*) in the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh 21:35, especially whether a *dalet* may have replaced a *res,* in which case the Levitical city would be Rimmon.

in all twenty-nine cities with their villages. The number twenty-nine does not correspond to either the MT (thirty-six cities) or the LXX (thirty cities), suggesting literary development in both textual traditions.

15:33 *lowland.* See the "Notes" to 10:40.

Eshtaol. The Hebrew *'estā'ōl* is associated with Ishwaʿ (Finkelstein, 2012: 68; for review of the evidence, see McKinny, 2016: 171–72). The place-name occurs twice in the book of Joshua, once as a city in Judah in the Shephelah or lowland region (15:33) and a second time as a city in Dan (19:41). Outside of the book of Joshua, Eshtaol is associated with Dan, as a city in the territory of the Shephelah from which the Danites left to conquer Laish farther north in the region of Sidon (Judg 18). Eshtaol is also associated with Manoah, the father of Samson, in stories of the birth of Samson (Judg 13:25) and the burial of Manoah (Judg 16:31).

Zorah. The Hebrew *ṣōr'â* is closely associated with Eshtaol and identified with contemporary Sarʿah (Finkelstein, 2012: 68). The location occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a city in Judah (15:33) and as a city in Dan (19:41). Historical geographers identify the site of Sar'a approximately thirteen miles west of Jerusalem in the Sorek Valley. Unlike Eshtaol, Zorah appears outside of the Hebrew Bible in the Amarna Letters (EA 273) as a city under the rule of Gezer. Zorah is associated with Manoah, the father of Samson (Judg 13:2, 25; 16:31), and the migration of the Danites (Judg 18). Zorah is also a defense city for Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:10) and a place of settlement for the returnees from exile (Neh 11:29).

Ashnah. The Hebrew *'aśnâ* occurs twice in the list of cities within Judah: (1) as a location in the Shephelah or lowland region within the vicinity of Zanoah (15:34) and (2) farther south also in the Shephelah region (15:43).

15:34 *Zanoah.* The Hebrew *zânôăḥ* occurs twice in the list of cities within Judah: (1) Zanoah is in the northern Shephelah or lowland region (15:34). The northern site is also a location to which the exiles returned (Neh 11:30), who assist in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:13). Modern Khirbet Zanu is identified with the ancient site. The Greek transposes the list of cities in Josh 15:34, placing Zanoah as the second city in the list and translating it as *ganō* (LXXB) and *zanō* (LXXA). (2) Zanoah is also situated in the southern highlands of Judah (15:56). First Chronicles 4:18 identifies a Judean ancestor, Zanoah, who may be idealized as the founder of the southern city.

En-gannim. The Hebrew *'ên gannîm* designates two cities in the book of Joshua: (1) En-gannim is a city in the northern Shephelah region of Judah (15:34). Noth (1971b: 94) suggested the location as contemporary Khirbet Umm Jina. The LXX translates *ramen.* (2) En-gannim is also a city farther north in the region of Issachar (19:21). Historical geographers debate the location of this site, based in part on reconstructions of the original Hebrew as En-ʿonam or En-gannon (see Albright, 1926: 231–32). Kallai (1986: 425) reviews the linguistic evidence and rejects a reconstruction of En-ʿonam, concluding that "nothing definite can be said with regard to the identification of this place."

Tappuah. See the "Notes" to 12:17.

Enam. The Hebrew *hā'ênām* means "the place of the spring." The dual form of the place-name in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen 38:14, 21) may indicate the same location in spite of the different spelling, *'ênayim,* "Enaim."

15:35 *Jarmuth.* See the "Notes" to 10:3.

Adullam. See the "Notes" to 12:15.

Socoh. The Hebrew *śôkōh* designates two locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Socoh is a city in the Shephelah region of Judah (15:35). Historical geographers associate the site with Khirbet ʿAbbad. This city is a western fortification in Judah, whose construction is attributed to Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:7). It is also the location for Israelite wars against the Philistines by Saul and David (1 Sam 17:1) and Ahaz (2 Chr 28:18). (2) Socoh is a city farther south in the highland region of Judah (Josh 15:48). Noth (1971b: 97) identifies the location with Khirbet Suweke, which is approximately ten miles southwest of Hebron (see also Finkelstein, 2012: 68). (3) The administrative districts of Solomon include a third Socoh much farther north in the area of contemporary Nablus (1 Kgs 4:10). This location does not appear in the book of Joshua.

Azekah. See the "Notes" to 10:10.

15:36 *Shaaraim.* The Hebrew *šaʿārayim,* meaning "two city gates," identifies a city in the Shephelah region of Judah (15:36; see also 1 Chr 4:31). The city is also the location for a battle between David and the Philistines (1 Sam 17:52). Past identifications of the site include Khirbet esh-Shari'a, Khirbet es-Sarire, and Khirbet Sar'ire (see de Vos, 2003: 388). Y. Garfinkel (2017) more recently identified Shaaraim with Khirbet Qiefyafa, based in part on the presence of two city gates; but the ancient city was destroyed sometime in the tenth century BCE, making its use in the seventh-century BCE document of place-names difficult to explain. For discussion, see T. Römer (2017b: 78–81).

Adithaim. The Hebrew *'ădîtayim* identifies a location in the Shephelah region of Judah (15:36); the term is absent in the LXX.

Gederah. See the "Notes" to 12:13.

Gederothaim. See the "Notes" to 12:13.

15:37 *Zenan.* The Hebrew *ṣĕnān* is a place-name in the southern highlands of Judah (15:37). The location may be related to *ša'ănān,* "Zaanan," in Mic 1:11, which refers to an unknown site in southern Judah.

Hadashah. The Hebrew *ḥadāšâ* occurs once in Josh 15:37; the location is unknown.

Migdal-gad. The Hebrew *migdal-gād* appears only in Josh 15:37; the location is unknown.

15:38 *Dilan.* The Hebrew *dil'ān* occurs once in Josh 15:38; the location is unknown.

Mizpeh. See the "Notes" to 11:8.

Jokthe-el. The Hebrew *yŏktĕ'ēl* occurs once in Josh 15:38; the location is unknown.

15:39 *Lachish.* See the "Notes" to 10:3.

Bozkath. The Hebrew *bōṣqat* designates a location in the southern lowland of Judah in Josh 15:39. The location reappears in 2 Kgs 22:1 as the home of Josiah's mother, Jedidah daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath.

Eglon. See the "Notes" to 10:3.

15:40 *Cabbon.* The Hebrew *kabbôn* occurs once in Josh 15:40 as a city in the southern lowland of Judah; the location is unknown.

Lahmam. The Hebrew *laḥmās* occurs only in Josh 15:40 as a city in the southern lowland of Judah; the location is unknown.

Chitlish. The Hebrew *kitlîš* occurs once in Josh 15:40 as a city in the southern lowland of Judah; the location is unknown.

15:41 *Gederoth.* See the "Notes" to 12:13.

Beth-dagon. The Hebrew *bêt dāgôn,* "House of Dagon (the Philistine deity)," occurs twice in the book of Joshua: (1) as a city in the southern highland of Judah (15:41) and (2) as a city in Asher (19:27).

Naamah. The Hebrew *naʿămâ* occurs once in Josh 15:41 as a city in the southern highland of Judah; the location is unknown.

Makkedah. See the "Notes" to 10:10.

15:42 *Libnah.* See the "Notes" to 10:29.

Ether. The Hebrew *ʿēter* occurs in Joshua as a location in Judah (15:42) and in Simeon (19:7); the location is unknown.

Ashan. The Hebrew *ʿāšān* may mean "smoke." Noth (1971b: 149) suggests the meaning "place with little vegetation." The place-name occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a location in Judah (15:42) and in Simeon (19:7). The location reappears as a city within Simeon (1 Chr 4:32) and as a Levitical city (1 Chr 6:44 [Eng. 6:59]), which may be related to *bôr-ʿāšān,* "Bor-ashan," in 1 Sam 30:30. The city is absent in the LXX of Josh 15:42.

15:43 *Iphtah.* The Hebrew *yiptāḥ* is likely a shortened form of *yiptāḥ-ʾēl,* "may God open." The term designates two locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Iphtah is a location in Judah (15:43); (2) Iphth-el designates a valley in Zebulun, *gê yiptāḥ-ʾēl,* "the valley of Iphtah-el" (19:14), which is on the border with Asher (19:27).

Ashnah. See the "Notes" to 15:33.

Nezib. The Hebrew *nĕṣîb,* meaning "pillar," occurs only once as a location in Judah (15:43); the location is unknown.

15:44 *Keilah.* The Hebrew *qĕʿîlâ* designates a location in the lowland region of Judah that appears in the Amarna Letters (*ANET* 489). Historical geographers associate the ancient site with contemporary Khirbet Qila. In the Hebrew Bible, Keilah is also the setting of a war between Saul, David, and the Philistines (1 Sam 23:1–14) and one of the cities to which the exiles returned (Neh 3:17).

Achzib. The Hebrew *ʾakzîb* designates two locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Achzib is a city in the lowland region of Judah (15:44). This location also appears in Mic 1:14, "the houses of Achzib," with a series of locations including Gath, Beth-leaphrah, Shaphir, Zaanan, Beth-ezel, Maroth, Moresheth-Gath, Mareshah, and Adullam. It may also be the designated birthplace of Judah's son Shelah if the Hebrew *kĕzîb,* "Chezib," is related to Achzib (Gen 38:5). (2) Achzib is also a city in the tribal area of Asher (19:29). Historical geographers place this location north of contemporary Acco on the Mediterranean coast. Achzib is identified with the modern ʿAyin-Kezbeh in the valley of Elah and north of Adullam. The northern Achzib reappears in Judg 1:31 within a summary of the cities from which indigenous people were not driven out by the tribe of Asher.

Mareshah. The Hebrew *mārēšâ* occurs once in the book of Joshua as a city in the lowland region of Judah (15:44). Historical geographers identify the site with contemporary Tell Sandahannah, a location approximately three miles northeast of ancient Lachish. The prophet Micah lists the city of Mareshah (spelled *mārēšâ*) in a judgment oracle (Mic 1:15). Mareshah also reappears as a descendent of Caleb (1 Chr 2:42; see further the genealogy of Judah in 1 Chr 4:21).

15:45 *Ekron.* See the "Notes" to 13:3.

with its daughters. The Hebrew *bĕnōtêhā,* "its daughters," designates smaller towns related geographically to larger cities.

15:46 *Ashdod.* See the "Notes" to 11:22.

15:47 *Gaza.* See the "Notes" to 10:41.

Wadi of Egypt. See the "Notes" to 15:4.

Great Sea. See the "Notes" to 1:4.

15:48 *hill country.* See the "Notes" to 10:40.

Shamir. The Hebrew *šāmîr* occurs once in the book of Joshua as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:48). Boling and Wright (1982: 64–72) identify the ancient site with Khirbet es-Samuara, a location approximately twelve miles southwest of Hebron although the identification lacks confirmation. Judges 10:1–2 identifies a second Shamir as a site in Ephraim that is the burial place of the judge Tola.

Jattir. The Hebrew *yattîr* occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:48) and as a Levitical city (*yattir,* 21:14; see also 1 Chr 6:42). Historical geographers identify the site with contemporary Khirbet ʿAttir northeast of Beersheba. The city is the recipient of booty from David (1 Sam 30:27).

Socoh. See the "Notes" to 15:35.

15:49 *Dannah.* The Hebrew *dannâ* occurs once as a city in the highland of Judah (15:49); the location remains unknown.

Kiriath-sannah. The Hebrew *qiryat-sannâ* occurs once as a city in the highland of Judah (15:49). H. M. Orlinsky (1939) argues that Kiriath-sanna is unknown and emends the MT to Kiriath-sepher, *qiryat-sēper,* following the LXX. Kiriath-sannah is identified with Debir (as was Kiriath-sepher in 15:15).

15:50 *Anab.* See the "Notes" to 11:21.

Eshtemoh. The Hebrew *ʾestĕmōh* occurs once in Josh 15:50 as a city in the highland of Judah, but it is likely related to the Hebrew *ʾestĕmōaʿ*, "Eshtemoa," in 21:14, which is a city of refuge (see also 1 Chr 6:42). The city also receives booty from David (1 Sam 30:28). Historical geographers identify the site with contemporary es-Samuʿ, approximately eight miles southwest of Hebron. The Greek translates Eshtemoh in Josh 15:50 as *eskaiman* (LXXB) and *esthemō* (LXXA) and Eshtemoa in 21:14 as *tema,* "Tema."

Anim. The Hebrew *ʿānîm* occurs once as a city in the highland of Judah (15:50); the location remains unknown.

15:51 *Goshen.* See the "Notes" to 10:41.

Holon. The Hebrew *ḥōlōn* may mean "sandy place." The term occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a city in the highland of Judah (15:51) and as a Levitical city (21:15). The Greek translates 15:51 as *chalou* (LXXB) and *chilouōn* (LXXA) and 21:15 as *gella.* The Levitical city reappears in 1 Chr 6:43 (Eng. 6:58) as Hebrew *ḥilēz,* "Hilez," raising questions about the original spelling of the city in Hebrew. The LXX of 1 Chr 6:43 translates *ieththar,* "Ieththar."

Giloh. The Hebrew *gilōh* is the location of a city in the highland of Judah (15:51). Giloh is also identified as the residence of Ahithophel, a counselor of David, who plays a role in the story of Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam 15:12).

15:52 *Arab.* The Hebrew *ʾărab* may mean "ambush." The word occurs one time as a city in the highland of Judah (15:52); the location remains unknown.

Ruman. The Hebrew *rûmâ* means "place of height." The relation of Ruman in the highland of Judah (15:52) to the city of the mother of Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:36) is unclear. Many commentators translate the MT as Dumah, arguing that a *resh* has replaced a *dalet.* De Vos (2003: 67) counters that the evidence for this change in the

MT is weak, especially in light of the Greek texts. Elitzer (2004: 231–39, 385) points out that Eusebius writes "Dumah" as a marginal note, perhaps to account for the MT.

Eshan. The Hebrew *ʾešʿān* occurs once in the Hebrew Bible as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:52); the location remains unknown.

15:53 *Janim.* The Hebrew *yānûm* (Kethib), *yānîm* (Qere), occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:53); the location remains unknown.

Beth-tappuah. The Hebrew *bêt tappûăḥ* means "place/house of the apple tree." The location occurs only once as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:53). For commentary on Tappuah, see the "Notes" to 12:17.

Aphekah. See the "Notes" to 12:18.

15:54 *Humtah.* The Hebrew *ḥumtâ* means "place of lizards." The location occurs only as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:54); the location remains unknown.

Kiriath-arba. See the "Notes" to 14:15.

Hebron. See the "Notes" to 10:3.

Zior. The Hebrew *ṣîʿōr* occurs only once as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:54); the location remains unknown.

15:55 *Maon.* The Hebrew *māʿôn* means "dwelling"; it is identified with Khirbet Maʿin. The city occurs once in the book of Joshua as a site in the highland region of Judah (15:55). The "wilderness of Maon" appears in stories of David (1 Sam 23:24).

Carmel. See the "Notes" to 12:22.

Ziph. See the "Notes" to 15:24.

Juttah. The Hebrew *yûṭṭâ* occurs as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:55) and as a Levitical city (*yūṭṭâ,* 21:16). The Greek translates 15:55 as *itan* (LXXB) and *ietta* (LXXA) and 21:16 as *tanu.*

15:56 *Jezreel.* The Hebrew *yizrĕʿeʾl* represents the combination of *zrʿ* + *ʾl,* "may God make fertile"; it designates three locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Jezreel is a city in the highland region of Judah (15:56). The southern city of Jezreel may also be the town of David's wife Ahinoam (1 Sam 25:43). (2) Jezreel is a city in Issachar (19:18). Historical geographers identify the northern Jezreel with contemporary Zerin. This site appears in a variety of stories within the Hebrew Bible, including those of Elijah and Ahab (1 Kgs 18, 21) and the allegorical marriage of Hosea and Gomer (Hos 1–2; LXX *iezrael*). (3) Valley of Jezreel, *ʿēmeq yizrĕʿeʾl,* designates the area of Canaanite control in the north (17:16). The term designates a region extending from the city of Jezreel to Megiddo, which was often a staging area for war (e.g., Judg 6:33, 1 Sam 29:1).

Jokdeam. The Hebrew *yŏkdĕʿām* occurs as a place-name once as a city in the highland region of Judah (15:56). The genealogy of Caleb includes the name Jorkeam (1 Chr 2:44; MT *yŏkqŏʿām,* LXX *ierkaan*), which may be related to 15:56.

Zanoah. See the "Notes" to 15:34.

15:57 *Kain.* The Hebrew *qayin* occurs once as a place-name in the highland region of Judah (15:57).

Gibeah. The Hebrew *gibʿâ* designates two or three place-names in the book of Joshua: (1) Gibeah is a city in the southern highland region of Judah (15:57), associated with Hebron. Gibea also appears as a person in the genealogy of Caleb's concubine Maacah (1 Chr 2:49). (2) Gibeah is a northern city in Benjamin (18:28; *gibʿat,* "Gibeath," or *gibʿat qiryat,* "Gibeath-Kiriath"). The prophet Hosea describes the northern city of Gibeah as "Gibeath of Benjamin" (e.g., Hos 5:8, 9:9, 10:9). This city is also the setting for the rape of the concubine that leads to the war against the Benjaminites (Judg 19–20). Finally, Gibean is the setting for a series of battles between Saul and the Philistines (1 Sam 13–14). (3) Geba (MT *gebaʿ*) is a place-name in Benjamin (18:24) and a Levitical city (21:17). There is debate whether Geba is the same or a distinct city from Gibeah, since the Hebrew Bible appears to interchange the names (Geba, 1 Sam 13:3; and Gibeah of Benjamin, 1 Sam 13:2). The ancient city of Geba has been identified with Jabaʾ, a village approximately six miles northeast of Jerusalem. The city of Geba is the setting for a series of battles against the Philistines in stories of the judges (Judg 20:33) and Saul (1 Sam 13:16). It is also a location to which the exiles returned and settled (e.g., Neh 7:30, 11:31, 12:29). (4) Gibeah may also be the burial location of the priest Eleazar, *bĕgibʿat pînеḥās* (24:33) in the LXX, which adds *en gabaath,* "in Gibeah."

Timnah. See the "Notes" to *Timnah* at 15:10.

15:58 *Halhul.* The Hebrew *ḥalḥûl* may mean "place of trembling." The place-name occurs once as a location in the southern highland of Judah (15:58).

Beth-zur. The Hebrew *bêt-ṣûr* means "place of the rock"; it is identified with Khirbet et-Tubeiqeh. The place-name occurs as a city in the southern highland region of Judah (15:58). It is also a fortification city of Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:7), and the residents of Beth-zur assist Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:16). The genealogy of Caleb identifies Beth-zur as the son of Maon (1 Chr 2:45).

Gedor. See the "Notes" to 12:13.

15:59 *Maarath.* The Hebrew *maʿărat* may mean "cave" or "grotto." The place-name occurs once as a location in the highland region of Judah (15:59).

Beth-anoth. The Hebrew *bêt-ʿănôt* means "house of Anath (the Canaanite goddess)." The place-name occurs once as a location in the highland region of Judah (15:59).

Eltekon. Or Eltekeh/Elteke. Variations of the place-name designate two or three locations in the book of Joshua: (1) Eltekon is a location in the highland region of Judah (15:59). (2) *Eltekeh* occurs as a location in Dan (19:44). (3) Elteke occurs once as a Levitical city in Dan (21:23), which is likely related to Eltekeh in 19:44.

LXX 15:59a *Theko, Ephratha (that is, Baithleem), Phagor, Aitam, Koulon, Tatam, Eobes, Karem, Galem, Thether, Manocho, eleven cities and their villages.* The LXX includes an entire district of Judah that is absent from the MT. Variations in the Greek names include Aitam (LXXB *aitam,* LXXA *aitam*), Tatam (LXXB *tatam,* LXXA *tatami*), Eobes (LXXB *eōbēs,* LXXA *sōrēs*), Galem (LXXB *galem,* LXXA *gallim*), and Thether (LXXB *thethēp,* LXXA *baithēr*). In light of the differences, Auld (2005: 182) writes: "The transliterations of the eleven names vary between A and B as much as elsewhere in these lists. That fact either tells against the widespread theory that the names in A represent a correction of B toward the proto-masoretic text, or suggests that the loss of this district from the masoretic tradition happened after that correction." Butler (2014a: 106) represents the view that the absence of the material in the MT may be the result of homoioteleuton from the Hebrew *wĕḥaṣrêhen,* "and their villages" (see also de Vos, 2003: 71–2; M. Rösel, 2018: 145). Margolis (1931–1938: 317) noted, however, that "the corruptions defy emendation."

15:60 *Kiriath-baal.* See the "Notes" to 15:9.

Kiriath-jearim. See the "Notes" to 9:17.

Rabbah. See the "Notes" to 13:25.

15:61 *wilderness.* See the "Notes" to 1:4.

Middin. The Hebrew *middîn* may mean "place of judgment or controversy." The place-name occurs once in the wilderness region of Judah (15:61).

Secacah. The Hebrew *sĕkākâ* means "thorn hedge." The place-name occurs once as a location in the wilderness region of Judah, most likely between Jericho and En-gedi (15:61). It also appears in the Copper Scroll (e.g., 3Q15 4:13; 5:2, 5, 13).

15:62 *Nibshan.* The Hebrew *nibšān* may mean "the smoothed place." The place-name occurs only once in the wilderness region of Judah (15:62).

City of Salt. The Hebrew *ʿîr hammēlaḥ* occurs once as a location in the wilderness region of Judah (15:62). The Greek translates in the plural, *hai poleis sadōm,* "the cities of Sadom" (LXXB), and *hai poleis halōn,* "the cities of the threshing floor" (LXXA), which may be a corruption of the Greek *halas,* "salt."

En-gedi. The Hebrew *ʿên-gedî* means "the spring of the young goat." The place-name occurs once in the book of Joshua as a location in the wilderness region of Judah (15:62). In stories outside of the book of Joshua, En-gedi is a hiding place for David (1 Sam 24:1), and in poetry it is described as a lush garden area (Song 1:14, Sir 24:14). The ancient site is identified with the contemporary oasis of the same name located on the shore of the Dead Sea approximately thirty-five miles south of Jerusalem.

15:63 *But the Jebusites, who dwelled in Jerusalem.* The Hebrew begins awkwardly with the direct object marker *wĕt-haybûsî,* highlighting the focus on the Jebusites (see the similar syntax in the parallel version in Judg 1:21). The MT plural, *yôšĕbê,* is singular in the LXX, *katōkei,* although the LXX returns to the plural, *autous,* "them," in referring to the Jebusites in the following sentence.

Jebusites. See the "Notes" to 3:10.

Jerusalem. See the "Notes" to 10:1.

the people of Judah were unable to dispossess them. The translation follows the MT Qere, *yōklû,* past tense, "were unable," rather than the present tense of the Kethib, *yûkĕlû.*

And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Judah in Jerusalem until this very day. The MT *wayēšeb* would normally translate in the past tense, but the concluding phrase, *ʿad hayyôm hazzeh,* "until this day," pulls the meaning of the verb into the present time. The LXX *katōkēsan,* in conjunction with the remote temporal clause *heōs tēs hēmeras ekeinēs,* "until that day," retains past meaning: "the Iebousites dwelled in Ierousalem until that day." The LXX also lacks the reference to "the people of Judah" (*ʾet-bĕnê yĕhûdâ*) in the MT, where the phrase is used to emphasize the intermixing of Jebusites with the people of Judah. The differences, according to Auld (2005: 183), go beyond text-critical variations to represent different interpretations of Jerusalem in the MT and the LXX. The MT emphasizes the mixing of the Jebusites and the people of Judah into the present time, thus condemning contemporary life in the city of Jerusalem as pollution. The LXX, on the other hand, restricts the statement to the past and eliminates the motif of ethnic mixing, with the result that the contemporary critique of Jerusalem is absent.

Composition

The description of Judah's territory in Josh 15 is complex; it includes border descriptions (15:1–12), a list of place-names (15:20–62), the legendary account of Caleb's possession of Hebron (15:13–19; see the "Composition" to Josh 14), and the Jebusite occupation of Jerusalem (15:63). The history of composition has focused on the literary unity of the chapter, the identification of geographical source documents that may have been used by the author, and the function of geography in ancient composition as background for evaluating the purpose of the author.

LITERARY UNITY

The geographical information on Judah is far more detailed than the information on the other tribes in Josh 13–19. The border information on the south (15:1–4) and the north (15:5b–11) is precise, while the list of place-names entails ten or eleven districts in four regions: one district in the south (15:21–32), three or four in the lowland (15:33–47), five in the highland (15:48–60), and one in the wilderness (15:61–62). The detailed information encourages a realistic and historical interpretation of the topography and geography of Judah, yet close examination raises questions of composition and form, as underscored by de Vos (2003: 1–3).

Source critics focused on literary design; they agreed that the composition of Josh 15 was part of the Priestly source on the basis of literary parallels to the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch (e.g., Num 34:3–4). Wellhausen (1889: 130), writing at the end of the nineteenth century, attributed Josh 15 to the Priestly source, noting that the full content and the original form of the Priestly account of land distribution were not preserved in the present form of Josh 13–19. Steuernagel (1923: 263–70), writing in the early twentieth century, followed the general conclusion of Wellhausen, while also describing in more detail the internal composition of Josh 15 within Priestly tradition. He noted that the evidence of Priestly authorship included the headings (15:1, 20) and literary parallels between the description of the southern border in Joshua and in the Priestly description of the land in Num 34 (Josh 15:3–4, 12a; Num 34:3–5, 6). Steuernagel also concluded that the story of Caleb (Josh 15:13–19, Judg 1:11–15), the description of Jerusalem as a Jebusite possession (Josh 15:63, Judg 1:21), the location of Jerusalem in Benjamin (15:28), and the inclusion of the Philistine cities in the territory of Judah (15:45–47) were all later additions to the Priestly source. Finally, Steuernagel highlighted the many differences between the MT and the LXX as indications of the continued revision of Josh 15 in the versions.

The research of source critics highlights the problems of literary unity. The identification of the Philistine region (15:45–47) stands out. The districts in Judah conclude with the summary phrase "*x* cities and their villages" (15:31, 35, 41, 44, 51, 53, 57, 59, 60, 62), which is lacking in 15:45–47. The content of 15:45–47 is also distinct from the other districts of Judah, since the Philistine cities of Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza were never part of Judah. Other tensions in geography also raise questions of literary unity. For example, the northern border of Judah (15:5b–11) overlaps with the region of Benjamin (18:11–28) to the point where the two tribes are both assigned the cities of Beth-arabah (15:61, 18:22) and Kiriath-jearim (15:60, 18:28), while Judah's central city of Jerusalem is located in the region of Benjamin (15:8, 18:28), even though its mixed population is attributed to Judah later in the chapter (15:63). Inner-biblical repetitions raise further questions about the dependence of Josh 15 on other literature: Judah's southern border (15:21–32) repeats the Priestly description from the Pentateuch (Num 34:3–4); the stories of Caleb (Josh 14:13–15) and of Jerusalem (15:63) repeat material from Judg 1 (Caleb, 1:11–15; Jerusalem, 1:21); and portions of the list of place-names are also repeated in the description of Benjamin (Josh 18:11–28), Simeon (Josh 19:1–9; with further similarities in Neh 11:25–30 and 1 Chr 4:28–32), and Dan (Josh 19:40–48). How does the interpreter account for the changing style and the many inner-biblical repetitions in the composition of Josh 15? Is the author using a source document, and if so, how is the author shaping the geographical information to advance central themes in the book of Joshua about the territory of the tribe of Judah?

GEOGRAPHICAL SOURCE DOCUMENT

Alt (1953e, 1953f) addressed the question of the literary design in Josh 15 by shifting the focus from the composition of Josh 15 to the tradition-historical development of Josh 13–19 as a whole. His research was based on three related presuppositions: The geographical detail in Josh 13–19 was not a literary creation by an author but was based on source documents; the historical geography in Josh 15 provided a window into the monarchic period and even farther back in time to the formation of tribal Israel; and the reconstructed twelve districts in the source document of Josh 15 reflect the influence of the twelve-tribe system in shaping territory throughout the monarchic period, which was evident already in the districts of Solomon (1 Kgs 4). Alt's goal was to identify the geographical source documents and to identify their origins by placing the documents in the historical period that corresponded with the geographical representation in Josh 15. Alt (1953e: 276) separated Josh 15 into three types of material: legendary stories of the conquest (Caleb in 15:13–19; Jerusalem in 15:63), fixed borders that create intertribal boundaries (15:1–12), and the list of place-names (15:20–62). The three genres were originally unrelated. The legendary stories in Josh 15 were fragments from more detailed accounts in Judg 1 and thus they were not tied in any way to the geographical material. Comparison of the borders and the place-names indicated that the two bodies of literature were also originally unrelated, since they often described conflicting regions (1953e: 277–78). The separate origin of the material meant that the literary evaluation of the tribal allotments, as undertaken by Wellhausen and Steuernagel, was not adequate, since each type of material required a tradition-historical investigation.

Alt (1953e: 277) focused on the list of places-names with the aim of recovering the original form before its incorporation into the book of Joshua. The place-names were uneven throughout Josh 15–19. The middle tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17) and the more northern tribes (Josh 19) contained minimal information on place-names, while the content frequently conflicted with the tribal borders, so much so that towns assigned to one tribe among the northern tribes were often located in the territory of another (Alt, 1927; 1953e: 278). The information on the tribes of Judah (Josh 15) and of Benjamin (Josh 18) was different; each of these tribal territories contained detailed lists of shared place-names, which, although not exact, tended to correspond more closely to the borders of each tribe. When Judah and Benjamin were compared with the other tribal territories, it became clear that Josh 15–19 was not based on one comprehensive list of place-names, but three lists: the middle tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh in which place-names are virtually absent (Josh 16–17), the northern tribes where place-names are mixed (Josh 19), and the southern tribes of Judah (Josh 15) and Benjamin (Josh 18) where there were detailed place-names.

The shared place-names in Judah (Josh 15) and in Benjamin (Josh 18) indicated that the source document assumed one territory, even though the two tribes were clearly separated from each other in the literary design of the book of Joshua. The repetition of Beth-arabah (15:61, 18:22) and Kiriath-jearim (15:60, 18:28) in each tribal list reinforced the conclusion (Alt, 1953g: 278). Further repetitions between Judah (15:21–62), Simeon (19:2–6, 7), and Dan (19:41–46) provided additional information on the scope and content of the source, which included twelve districts spanning the area of Judah and Benjamin. Alt highlighted the following central locations in each district (see the modification of Noth in the "Introduction"): (1) Beersheba (15:21–32, part of 19:2–6), (2) Adullam (15:33–36), (3) Lachish (15:37–44), (4) Keilah (15:42–44, part of 19:7), (5) Debir (15:48–51), (6) Hebron (15:52–54), (7) Moan (15:55–57), (8) Beth-zur (15:58–59), (9) Bethlehem (LXX 15:59; absent in the MT), (10) Jerusalem (15:60 with 18:25–28), (11) Jericho (15:61–62 with 18:21–24), and (12) Ekron (19:41–46).

Alt (1953e: 279–84) assumed that the place-names represented historical geography of a particular period. The distribution of the twelve districts reflected the kingdom of Judah under the reign of Josiah, when Judah and Benjamin were one region. The southern place-names of Judah (District I; 15:21–32) precluded an exilic or postexilic date, because the border of postexilic Yehud ended much farther north in the area of Beth-zur (1953e: 280). Given this, the source document must reflect an earlier period during the time of the monarchy. The northern and western place-names aided in locating the document more precisely in the reign of Josiah. Jerusalem is firmly established within the kingdom of Judah (reconstructed District X; 15:60, 18:25–28), even though it is outside of the territory of Judah in the present literary form of Josh 15. The inclusion of Bethel and Jericho within the border of Judah indicated the absence of the Northern Kingdom, while also corresponding to the territorial claims of Josiah. The lack of a clearly established northern border was due in part, according to Alt (1953e: 285), to the innovation of Josiah in claiming this new northern territory. The extension of Judah into Philistine territory, as indicated by the western list of place-names (Districts II and III, 15:33–44; and reconstructed District XII, 19:41–46), also pointed to the time of Josiah's expansion into this area (1953e: 283, 287).

The source document reflected the perspective of the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Josiah. The twelve administrative districts of the kingdom were modeled after the twelve administrative districts of Solomon (1 Kgs 4), which had been created to incorporate the premonarchic twelve-tribe system into the united monarchy (Alt, 1953e; 284, 285; 1953g). Thus, Alt's interpretation of the source document was based on the assumption of the early formation of the twelve-tribe system in the history of ancient Israel. The author of Josh 13–19 shared the southern Judean perspective of the source document, according to Alt, and thus idealized Judah above the other tribes; this was evident from the literary detail attributed to Judah in Josh 15, as compared with the other tribes, and the placement of Judah at the outset of the tribal division of the western land in Josh 13–19. The lack of geographical detail of the northern tribes further underscored the Judean perspective of the author, who most likely lacked geographical knowledge of the northern territory (1953e: 283–88).

Alt and Noth established the framework for subsequent research on the composition of Josh 15 by combining the study of historical geography in the source document with the literary design of the author of Joshua. The focus remained on the recovery of historical geography in the source document, and only secondarily did the research explore the intention of the author in creating the present literary structure of Josh 15 (see the "Introduction" for an illustration of Noth's reconstruction of the source document of place-names). Many followed Alt and Noth in focusing on the recovery of a source document. Some agreed that the list of place-names in the source document pointed to the period of Josiah (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 186; Knauf, 2008: 145; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 245–48). Others left open the possibility (Miller and Tucker, 1974: 119–28) or argued specifically for an earlier date to the source document based on historical geography and political history. Thus, Cross and Wright (1956: 208–11; see also Soggin, 1972: 176–80), for example, argued for a mid-ninth-century BCE date to the source document based in part on their interpretation of Dan (19:41–47). Kallai (1986: 372–77) favored, instead, the period of Hezekiah after his rebellion against Sennacherib, which was reinforced by R. Tappy (2008), who noted that the unusual distribution of the districts in the Judean Shephelah (15:33–44, 45–47) followed the pattern of Sennacherib's third campaign in 701 BCE. Hess (1994a: 191–205) pushed the date of the source document back farther to the period of tribal formation in the premonarchic period. In spite of the range of dating, most agreed that the list of place-names underwent literary changes when incorporated into the book of Joshua to account for the redistribution of the document in Josh 15, 18–19. Most also agreed that the author maintained a southern point of view on the basis of the greater geographical detail of Judah in Josh 15, the combination of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 18), and the initial position of Judah in the literary context of Josh 13–19.

LITERARY DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR

A minority of interpreters argued for a more concentrated interpretation of the literary aim of the author of Josh 15 (see the "Introduction"). Nelson (1997: 186) followed Alt in attributing the origin of the place-names in Josh 15 to a source document of King Josiah's administrative districts, but he also cautioned that the "function [of geography] in the final shape of the book of Joshua should not be ignored" (193). Here Nelson echoes the earlier writing of Mowinckel (1946: 5–7), who had previously argued that the overemphasis on the source document in the research of Alt and Noth did not provide an adequate interpretation of Josh 15 as theoretical literature. The description of tribal geography in Josh 13–19, according to Mowinckel (1946: 22, 34–35), represented the blending of realistic places from tradition with the author's artistic and theoretical vision of the twelve-tribe system, which was never grounded in history but always shaped by theories about the identity of a greater Israel.

The interpretation of the geography in Josh 13–19 as a window into the author's conception of the tribal territories has gained attention. Lissovsky and Na'aman (2003: 291–93) cautioned against the overemphasis on recovering the precise contours of modern cartography from ancient texts like Josh 13–19. Like Mowinckel, they too encouraged a shift in research toward understanding the ancient writer's perception of the geographical world, in which sources and literary imagination combine to create the tribal boundary system (2003: 320–21). Wazana (2013: 1–8) extended the critique of Alt and Noth, arguing that when the literary study of geographical texts is placed within the larger context of ancient Near Eastern geographical writing, it becomes clear that all such texts advance ideological claims about power, borders, and identity. Seleznev (2005) built on the literary function of the tribal boundaries, noting that the verbs linking place-names do not so much function as border descriptions, as Noth argued, but rather suggest more an excursion by the author through the tribal territory (see also the "Introduction").

SUMMARY

Two conclusions emerge from the history of research on Josh 15. First, the author employs a range of sources in the composition of Josh 15. The sources include the Priestly description of the promised land west of the Jordan River (Num 34:1–12), the traditional material about Caleb (Judg 1:10–15) and Jerusalem (Judg 1:8, 21), and the source document of place-names and districts, which Alt identified with the kingdom of Judah under the reign of Josiah. The author's use of the source document of place-names indicates the influence of geographical material from the monarchic period. The composition of Josh 15, however, is in the postexilic period, when the Priestly description of the promised land (Num 34:1–12) was available to the author (de Vos, 2003: 243–44, 491) and the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity was firmly established (see the "Introduction," "Twelve Tribes and Pan-Israelite Identity"). The late development of the twelve-tribe system eliminates Alt's conclusion that a version of the tribal borders was a source document for the author of Josh 15. The description of the tribal territory of Judah, as well as the entire twelve-tribe system of land division, is the literary creation of the author of Joshua, writing in the postexilic period.

Second, the present form of Josh 15 contains a history of composition. The legends of Caleb (15:13–19) and of Jerusalem (15:63) contrast in literary style to the borders (15:1–12) and to the place-names (15:20–62). The interweaving of the different genres may indicate distinct stages of composition, as argued for example by de Vos (2003: 243–44). The many contrasts between the MT and the LXX also indicate a history of composition surrounding the geographical details of Josh 15. There are at least three stages of composition in the literary formation of Josh 15: the original composition of the tribal regions in Josh 15, employing source documents; the later addition of the Philistine district (15:45–47); and the further literary development evident in the textual versions. The literary style of the Philistine district departs from that of the other districts by lacking a summary of the number of place-names (de Vos, 2003: 128, 142; Noth, 1971b: 96–97). The intention of the editor in adding the Philistine district is unclear; it may be an inner-biblical interpretation of Judg 1:18, where Judah is described as conquering the Philistine cities (Knauf, 2008: 146); or perhaps the editor sought to bring the territory of Judah into conformity with the unconquered territory in the land that remains (13:1b–6), which includes the Philistine district (13:3). The "Comments" concentrate on the creation of Josh 15 by the author of Joshua.

Comments

Gilgal (14:6) is the setting for the allotment of the territory to Judah (Josh 15) and to the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17). The remaining tribal allotments take place at Shiloh (18:1). The two-part division of land west of the Jordan is not the result of the history of composition; it is part of the literary design of the author (Assis, 2003: 2–4). The distinct locations indicate that the allotments of Judah and the sons of Joseph are the central focus of the author, with the subsequent tribal allotments filling in the remaining regions (Seleznev, 2005: 331–32). The prominence of the allotment of land to the tribe of Judah and to the sons of Joseph is reinforced by the insertion of narrative material on Caleb (14:6–15, 15:13–19) and on the daughters of Zelophehad (17:1–6), which does not appear in the accounts of the allotment at Shiloh (Assis, 2003: 14). The literary design of the allotment at Gilgal is from south to north, placing Judah in the initial position with the focus of the author on the southern and on the northern borders. The "Comments" follow the strategy of the author, beginning with discussion of Judah's southern border; then examining the northern border and the role of Hebron and Jerusalem; and concluding with a summary of the author's northern point of view in describing the territory of Judah.

SOUTHERN BORDER

The southern territory of Judah is delineated by a border (15:1–4). The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears four times: once to describe the region of Edom (15:1) and three times to trace the southern border of Judah (15:2, 4 [twice]). The border includes eleven locations. Five are either unclear or unidentified (ascent of Akrabbim, Kezron, Addar, Karka, Azmon); the remaining six describe a southern border that begins at Edom, progresses from the southern tip of the Salt Sea westward through the Wilderness of Zin to Kadesh-barnea, then along the Wadi of Egypt until it reaches the sea. The border envisions a "greater Judah" (Noth, 1971b: 89), which does not conform to the territory of Judah in the period of the kingdom or to the southern border of Yehud postexile. The realism of the geographical details, however, has encouraged historical geographers to propose a variety of periods to account for the description, including the earliest tribal period (Hess, 1994a, 1994b), where the border may originate from an Egyptian document or province (B. Mazar, 1986). Noth (1971b: 86–87, 89) favored a similar time period, arguing that the vision of a "greater Judah" may include trade routes in the south or perhaps even sacral unions among tribal groups from the premonarchic period, adding that the border could not represent "the settlement area of the tribe of Judah in the narrow sense." But not all agreed. Kallai (1986: 115–18, 279–93) and Na'aman (1986: 64) identified the southern border with the period of the united monarchy, while Fritz (1994: 159) broadened the time period to include a range of periods from the tenth through the sixth centuries BCE.

The shift in focus from historical geography to literary design raised different questions about the role of the author in fashioning the southern border of Judah. The literary investigation was influenced by the inner-biblical relationship of Josh 15:1–4 to the southern border of the land in Num 34:3–5 and Ezek 47:19, 48:28 (Zimmerli, 1983: 530; Achenbach, 2003: 582–93). Ezekiel 47:13–23, 48:1–29; Num 34:1–12; and Josh 15–19 are the only accounts of the tribal borders of the land in the Hebrew Bible (Wazana, 2013: 128), and all three extend the southern border to Kadesh (Kadesh-barnea, Meribath-Kadesh), while also including the Wadi of Egypt and the Great Sea (Gray, 1903: 454). The shared vision of the southern border suggests that the three

geographical texts are related and that the author of Joshua is writing in the tradition of the tribal description of the land inaugurated by Ezekiel.

Ezekiel describes the borders (47:13–23) and the allotment of the land to the twelve tribes (48:1–29) in order to envision a new postexilic society that lacks kings (Cook, 2018: 12–18). Ezekiel describes the southern border twice, initially in the general border of the land (47:13–23, esp. v. 19) and a second time in the tribal allotment (48:1–29), where the southern border marks the region of Gad (48:28), not Judah, as in Josh 15. In both Ezek 47:19 and 48:28, the southern border includes four locations: Tamar, Meribath-Kadesh, the Wadi of Egypt, and the sea. The Priestly version of the borders of the land is contained in Num 34:1–12. In this account, the southern border (Num 34:3–5) mirrors Ezekiel (Hutchens, 1993: 222–24); it too extends to Kadesh-barnea (34:4) and includes the Wadi of Egypt and the sea (34:5). The account also adds more detail; it acknowledges the presence of Edom and includes the Salt Sea, the ascent of Akrabbim, and Zin as locations east of Kadesh-barnea (34:3–4a), while identifying Hazar-addar and Azmon between Kadesh-barnea and the Wadi of Egypt (Num 34:4b–5a). The Priestly version departs further from Ezekiel by linking the locations with verbs that direct the reader when the border "turns" (34:4, 5), "crosses" (34:4, 5), and "proceeds" (34:4, 5) to its termination at the sea (Wazana, 2013: 133–39).

The southern border in Josh 15:1–4 follows the paradigm of Ezekiel, while also building on the Priestly version in Numbers. Kadesh-barnea (15:3) remains the southernmost location, and the border continues to follow the Wadi of Egypt before ending at the sea (15:4). The parallels between Josh 15:1–4 and Num 34:1–4 are even more striking. The two texts share many geographical details, including Edom, the wilderness of Zin, the Salt Sea, and the ascent of Akrabbim as locations prior to Kadesh-barnea (15:1–3a), and Hazron, Addar, and Azmon between Kadesh-barnea and the Wadi of Egypt (15:3b–4a). Joshua departs from Numbers by inserting additional information by the Salt Sea (15:2b) and by adding Karka (15:3b) as yet another location prior to Kadesh-barnea. Like Numbers, however, Joshua also links the locations with verbs that guide the reader, informing when the border "proceeds" (15:3, 4), "ascends" (15:3), "crosses" (15:3, 4), and "turns" (15:3). The most significant contrast between Josh 15:1–4 and Num 34:3–5 emerges from their literary context. Numbers is written as direct divine speech about the future: "Yahweh spoke to Moses, saying" (34:1). Direct speech is carried through the description of the southern border in the use of the second person: "your southern sector shall extend" (34:3), "your southern boundary shall begin" (34:3), "your boundary shall turn" (34:4), and so forth. Joshua, on the other hand, is written as third-person narrative, thus lacking the direct second-person speech: "The lot for the tribe of Judah according to their families was" (15:1), "their southern border was" (15:2), "it goes out" (15:3), "it ascends" (15:3), and so forth.

The many parallels confirm an inner-biblical relationship between Num 34:3–5 and Josh 15:1–4, yet the direction of the literary dependence is debated. Wazana (2013, 146) judged Josh 15:1–4 to be the parent text for the Priestly description in Num 34:3–5 on the basis of the absence of references "to the neighboring lands (in Num 34:3–5), which shows that the southern-sector passage's original context was the Judahite-allotment description" (Josh 15:1–4). Wazana also noted contrasts in the opening sentences, the description of the Jordan Valley, and the formulas used to connect geographical locations as further support for the dependency of Num 34:3–5 on Josh 15:1–4 (for additional arguments, see Noth, 1971b: 89). De Vos (2003: 145) reversed the literary relationship, noting that Josh 15:1–4 fills out the details from Num 34:3–5 as one would expect from literary dependency. He noted further the unusual departure in form in Josh 15:4, when it reverts to the direct speech of its parent text (Num 34:3–5) with the use of the second person: "This will be your (*lākem*) southern border" (see also Achenbach, 2003: 582–93). The literary evidence favors the dependency of the author of Josh 15:1–4 on the Priestly description of the southern border (Num 34:3–5). The inner-biblical linkage creates a relationship of divine command (Num 34:3–5) and fulfillment (Josh 15:1–4), common in Joshua.

Both the Priestly text and Joshua are postexilic compositions that build upon Ezekiel's exilic vision of the tribal possession of the promised land. Neither Num 34:3–5 nor Josh 15:1–4 is constrained by the geopolitical reality of the postexilic period, in which Edom occupies the southern territory of the land and the southernmost border of Yehud terminates farther north in the area of Beth-zur. The emphasis on Kadesh as the southernmost point of the land in Ezekiel, Numbers, and Joshua may reflect the influence of traditional material upon the authors, in which Kadesh plays a significant role (e.g., Num 13:26, 20:1; Deut 1:46), even though Kadesh is outside of the land in these stories. What becomes clear is that the exilic and postexilic traditions of mapping the land of the twelve tribes blend realistic locations with an idealistic vision of its southern border that is not restricted by contemporary geopolitics. The blending of realism and idealism in the book of Joshua creates the vision of "greater Judah" in the description of its southern border, underscored by Noth. J. M. Myers (1965: 191) noted that the tribal maps of the southern border of the land do not become a geopolitical reality until the time of the Maccabees.

The author of Joshua fills in the southern territory of Judah from the document of place-names (15:21–32). The names comprise District I of the districts of Judah (MT version). The total number in the summary of place-names in District I is twenty-nine (15:32; the MT includes thirty-six place-names, and the LXX, thirty). Seven locations can be identified with confidence (Edom, Eder = Arad, Beersheba, Hormah, Ziklag, Madmannah, Sansannah); three to five have tentative identifications (Moladah, Ezem, En-rimmon, and perhaps Kinah); leaving the remainder unidentified (see the "Notes"). Kallai (1986: 358–59) argued that the reference to Kedesh (15:23) is Kadesh-barnea, which would extend the place-names much farther south and bring the locations into conformity with the southern border (15:1–4). But the clustering of the place-names around Beersheba favors, instead, an unknown location farther north (de Vos, 2003: 349). The concentration of the towns around Beersheba (15:21–32) suggests that the place-names are unrelated geographically to the southern border (15:1–4). This was the insight of Alt, who clarified that the place-names originated from a source document of the districts of Judah representing the reign of Josiah. Most interpreters agree with the identification of the source document, although debate continues over the appropriate historical setting during the history of the kingdom of Judah (see "Composition"). The place-names create a variety of inner-biblical relationships among stories of David's activities in the Negeb (1 Sam 30), Simeon's allotment of tribal territory (Josh 19:2–7; see also 1 Chr 4:28–32), and the settlement of the returnees from exile (Neh 11:25–30). Albright (1924: 149) traced a tradition-historical relationship among the different accounts from the tribal period, when Simeon was not yet absorbed into Judah (Josh 19:2–7), through the description of "greater Judah" (Josh 15:26–32) and the Davidic traditions (1 Sam 30), into the postexilic period with the genealogy of Simeon (1 Chr 4:24–33) and finally the settlement account of the returnees (Neh 11:25–30). The linkage between Judah's southern territory (Josh 15:21–32) and David (1 Sam 30) serves a tradition-historical function by anchoring the territory of Judah in stories of David's rise to power (de Vos, 2003: 344).

The repetitions among the southern district of Judah (15:21–32), the settlement of the returnees (Neh 11:25–30), and Simeon's tribal allotment (Josh 19:2–9) indicate a literary relationship. The place-names of Judah's southern territory are similar to those in Neh 11:25–30. In fact, all of the place-names in Neh 11:25–30 appear in Josh 15:21–32, with the exception of Dibon, Jeshua, and Meconah (Clines, 1984: 219). Myers (1965, 190–91) noted the historical problems created by the place-names in Neh 11:25–30, since the settlements were not part of the province of Yehud in the postexilic period; they remained Edomite territory until the time of the Maccabees. He writes: "How did the Jews get so far south in the time of Nehemiah? Is the list fictitious? Does it contain an element of fact but is otherwise greatly exaggerated?" Myers (1965: 191) detected an idealization of the kingdom of David in the Judean settlements. He accounted for the unrealistic geography by identifying the compilation of Neh 11:25–30 as a copy or revision of the list from the older account in Josh 15:21–32, thus accounting for the many shared locations in each text (1965: 189–92; see also Lipschits, 2002; Fulton, 2015: 86–94). But the dependence of Nehemiah on Josh 15:21–32 does not account for the utopian geography of Neh 11:25–30, since the reader is left with problems of historical geography in both texts. Erisman (2019: 97) suggested that Josh 15 and Neh 11:25–30 were written in the same general period with the aim of idealizing the Davidic past, while de Vos (2003: 522–24) described an inner-biblical literary relationship in which the final redactional phase of Josh 13–19 was influenced by Neh 11:25–30.

The comparison of Neh 11:25–30 with Josh 15:21–32 suggests the aim of the postexilic author of Joshua is to limit the southern territory of "greater Judah." The Judean settlements in Neh 11:25–30 are divided between locations north of and south of Hebron (Kiriath-arba). The settlement sites north of Hebron include Zorah, Jarmuth, Zanoah, Adullman, Lachish, and Azekah (11:29b–30). Our focus is on the southern territory, described in Neh 11:25–29a; it stretches from Kiriath-arba in the north to Beersheba in the south. The locations include Kiriath-arba, Dibon, Jekabzeel, Jeshua, Moladah, Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual, Beersheba, Ziklag, Meconah, and En-rimmon. Comparison clarifies that the southern locations in Neh 11:25–29a are from District I (Josh 15:21–32; Jekabzeel, Moladah, Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual, Beersheba, Ziklag, and En-rimmon) and from District VI (Kiriath-arba, that is, Hebron) of the Judean allotment of land in Josh 15. The author of Joshua removes both District I and District VI from the territory of the tribe of Judah. In the arbitration between Judah and Caleb, Joshua allocates District VI to Caleb (14:13–14, 15:13). Joshua also allocates Beersheba and its surrounding cities in District I to Simeon (19:1). At the conclusion of Simeon's inheritance, the author explains that the reason for taking land from Judah was its size; the territory of Judah was too big: "From the territory of the tribe of Judah was the inheritance of the sons of Simeon. For the territory of the sons of Judah was too great for them" (19:9).

Researchers interpret the distribution of Judean land to Caleb (14:6–15, 15:13–19) and to Simeon (19:1–9) tradition-historically, in which case the clans of Caleb and of

Simeon are judged to be absorbed into the tribe of Judah, perhaps evoking the Davidic ideal (Erisman, 2019: 97). This is not the message of the author of Joshua, who is explicit in stating that the tribe of Judah has too much land. As a consequence, Joshua, in his role of amphictyonic arbitrator of the tribal land, reduces the southern territory of "greater Judah" by allocating the region of Hebron (District VI) to Caleb and the region of Beersheba (District I) to Simeon. After the land of Judah is parceled out to Caleb and to Simeon, therefore, the actual landholding of Judah is restricted to the area of Beth-zur in District VIII.

NORTHERN BORDER

The northern territory of Judah is delineated by a border (15:5b–11). The aim of the author is to separate Benjamin and Judah, rather than relate them as one, which is the case in the source document. The intent is evident in the concentrated use of *gĕbûl,* in which all of the occurrences indicate the "border," rather than a more indefinite "region." Fourteen times the author identifies the precise location of the northern border (15:5 [twice], 6 [twice], 7 [twice], 8 [twice], 9 [twice], 10, 11 [three times]). The complexity of the northern border, according to Noth (1971b: 87), indicates that it is the point of emphasis of the author in defining the territory of Judah; he adds that the writing of "the boundary fixed-points are set very precisely to exclude the city-state of Jerusalem from Judean or Judah-occupied territory" (1971b: 88; author's translation). Soggin (1972: 173) reinforced the conclusion, underscoring the number of fixed points and the degree of accuracy the author conveys especially around Jebus (Jerusalem), where the purpose is "to show that the territory of the city state of Jerusalem remains outside the territory of Judah."

The border of Judah is a scribal creation, according to Knauf (2008: 141), which requires a literary interpretation. The northern border (15:5b–11) is described from east to west in three sections. The first section (15:5b–7) begins at the Jordan (15:5b) and progresses through nine locations westward toward the region of Jebus (15:6–7; Beth-hoglah; Beth-arabah; the Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son; Debir; the valley of Achor; Gilgal; the ascent of Adummim, south of the Wadi; En-shemesh; and En-rogel). The writer lingers in the second section (15:8), where the focus is on the border in the region of Jebus, identified as Jerusalem (15:8). Here, the author traces in detail how the border crosses the valley of Hinnom south of the city, before moving westward with the valley of Rephaim to the north to clarify that the city is not in the region of Judah. The border description picks up momentum again in the third section (15:9–11) in the westward progression to the sea, with the author noting ten locations (15:9–11; Nephtoah, Mount Ephron, Baalah = Kiriath-jearim, Mount Seir, Mount Jearim = Chesalon, Beth-shemesh, Timnah, Ekron, Shikkeron, and Mount Baalah). The structure indicates that the central focus of the northern border of Judah is the region of Jebus, identified as Jerusalem (15:8), and that the emphasis of the author is both to separate Judah from Benjamin and to locate Jerusalem outside of the territory of Judah.

Interpreters have sought to account for the exclusion of Jerusalem from Judean territory by locating the composition in the early historical period of Israel. Soggin (1972: 174–75), for example, stated that the border description may be older than the Davidic conquest of Jerusalem, or it may reflect the independent status of Jerusalem

after the Davidic conquest. I argue that the border of Judah is a postexilic composition. The author is writing in the tradition of the description of the promised land initiated by Ezekiel in the exilic period. The point of view of the author of Joshua, however, does not idealize Jerusalem, as is the case in Ezekiel; it also contrasts to the description of Yehud in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, where the returnees from exile self-identify as members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin and claim the territory of Judah and Benjamin as the parameters of the promised land. The author of Joshua advances a distinct vision of the tribal territories in which Judah and Benjamin are clearly separated regions.

HEBRON AND JERUSALEM

The literary structure of Josh 15 is in two parts: (1) 15:1–19 outlines the borders of Judah, and (2) 15:20–63 provides an extensive list of place-names within the territory of Judah. The two sections follow the same pattern in that each description of the territory of Judah concludes by noting a place-name where the tribal allotment was restricted in some way. Thus, for example, the list of borders (15:1–12) concludes by noting that Hebron became a possession of Caleb, who is not a member of the tribe of Judah (15:13–19). The list of cities in Judah (15:20–62) concludes by underscoring that Jerusalem remained a possession of the Jebusites (15:63), who continued to live with the people of Judah.

Joshua grants Hebron and its surrounding area to Caleb in 15:13–19, after the description of Judah's borders (15:1–12). The story is surprising in Josh 15, because Joshua already completed the granting of Hebron to Caleb in 14:6–15. In the previous episode, the story began with Judah presenting the claim of Caleb to Joshua for arbitration, at which time Judah faded from the narrative (14:1a). The focus turned instead to Caleb and Joshua, the two faithful spies. Caleb requested land on the basis of the past promise of Moses (14:6–12), and, as the successor of Moses who distributes the western land, Joshua granted him Hebron: "And Joshua blessed him and gave Hebron to Caleb" (14:13). Thus, the potential conflict over the land distribution to Judah and the past promise of Moses to Caleb are resolved at this point; no further information is required. Yet, the author returns to the land claim of Caleb (15:13–19) after the description of Judah's boundaries (15:1–12), even though the reader already knows the outcome. The result is two accounts of Caleb acquiring Hebron (14:6–15 and 15:13–19), which now span Josh 14–15, indicating the literary unity of these two chapters within the book of Joshua.

The two accounts of Caleb are not separate in the book of Joshua. In fact, they are tied so closely together that the introduction to the second lacks the name Joshua in restating the gift of Hebron to Caleb: "But to Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, he [Joshua] gave" (15:13a). Nelson (1997: 187) noted the absence of the name Joshua in v. 13a, leading to his suggestion that the grammatical subject may be the "lot" from 15:1, or perhaps the impersonal construction "a section was given." But Caleb does not inherit by lot, while the content clarifies that the granting of Hebron to Caleb was not impersonal but "according to the command of Yahweh to Joshua" (15:13). The literary details reinforce the close connection between 14:6–15 and 15:13–19. But what is the purpose of the repetition? The function of 15:13–19 emerges by exploring what it adds to the first account in 14:6–15 and by comparing Josh 15:13–19 to the parallel version in Judg 1:12–15. Caleb's possession of Hebron in Josh 15:13–19 maintains a focus on Judah that was absent in 14:6–15, when Judah faded after the opening verse, giving way to an extended encounter between the two spies, Joshua and Caleb. Joshua 15:13–19, by contrast, is embedded within the larger context of Judah's allotment of land. The description of Judah's borders (15:1–12) precedes the account (15:13–19). Thus, unlike the first account (14:6–15), the territory of Judah now dominates the narrative context of 15:13–19, and it also influences its content, since Hebron is firmly located within the territory of Judah: "But to Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, he gave a share of possession in the midst of the sons of Judah" (15:13). The author of Joshua underscores that Edom, not Judah (Caleb is a Kenizzite, 14:6), possesses the territory around Hebron.

The comparison of Josh 15:13–19 and Judg 1:12–15 provides further insight into the aim of the author (see also the "Composition" to Josh 14). The two accounts are nearly identical, but they function differently in their narrative context. Judges 1:12–15 is embedded within a pro-Judean narrative, in which Judah has already conquered Hebron and Debir (1:10–11). The insertion of the story about Caleb, Achsah, and Othniel immediately after Judah's conquest is abrupt; no explanation is provided for the introduction of Caleb (Judg 1:12). The addition does acquire function in the subsequent literary development of the book of Judges, especially in the role of Othniel (see Fewell, 1995). Othniel's conquest of Debir models the war hero; the prominence of Achsah in the marriage highlights the unexpected role of women in the book; and Othniel later reappears as the first judge, clarifying his identity as part of the tribes of Israel (Judg 3:9–11). The story in Josh 15:13–19 also appears suddenly in the book of Joshua. Caleb's possession of Hebron is already accomplished in 14:6–15, making 15:13–19 redundant, while the marriage of Achsah and Othniel plays no role in the large literary development of the book. Hawk (2000: 202) argued for a parallel between Achsah and the daughters of Zelophehad with regard to the right of women to possess land. The theme is certainly central to the daughters of Zelophehad where their legal claim is developed in detail (17:1–7), but it is not central to Achsah's demand for a blessing and for water.

The aim of the author of Josh 15:13–19 is to reinterpret the pro-Judean account of Caleb from Judg 1:12–15. The author of Joshua underscores the central role of the northern hero Joshua in allotting territory to Judah and in granting the city of Hebron to Caleb. Both of these themes contrast to the portrayal of Judah in Judg 1 as conquering Hebron and Debir and as giving one or both of these cities to Caleb. The northern perspective was established in Josh 14:6, when Judah sought the counsel of Joshua concerning land, and it continues with the central role of Joshua in arbitrating Caleb's claim (14:6–15) and in granting him a portion of Judah's territory (15:13–19). The author underscores the authority of Joshua to settle land claims by idealizing his role as an arbitrator on analogy to the office in the Greek amphictyonic league (Tod, 1913: 78–79). In this way Joshua is idealized both as the successor of Moses with the authority to allocate the land and as a reliable interpreter of the past commands of Moses, who is able to discern the truth of Caleb's claim to land in reducing the territory of Judah.

The list of place-names (15:20–62) concludes with the notice in 15:63 that Jerusalem remained populated by Jebusites along with the people of Judah (15:63). The statement is puzzling, because Jerusalem was removed from the territory of Judah in the description of the northern border (15:8), yet the author concludes the chapter by identifying the residents of Jerusalem as the people of Judah, not Benjamin, and by attributing the current pollution of Jerusalem to the people of Judah who continue to live there.

The judgment on Judeans and on Jerusalem is aimed at Judg 1:21, where a similar statement is made about Benjamin: "But the Benjaminites did not drive out the Jebusites who live in Jerusalem; so the Jebusites have lived in Jerusalem among the Benjaminites to this day." The two texts are not identical (see the differences in Rake, 2006: 37–38), but they are clearly related, with interpreters debating the direction of the inner-biblical dependency. U. Becker (1990: 32–33, 57–58) interprets Josh 15:63 as a reinterpretation of Judg 1:21; Rake (2006: 39–41) reverses the inner-biblical relationship, while Auld (2005: 183) interprets the LXX version of Josh 15:63 as the parent text for the MT of both Josh 15:63 and Judg 1:21. What emerges from comparison, however, is the contrast between the pro-Judean version in Judg 1, in which Judah successfully conquers Jerusalem (Judg 1:8) while Benjamin fails to purge the city of Jebusites (Judg 1:21), and the anti-Judean version in Josh 15:63, in which it is Judah who fails to purge Jerusalem of Jebusites.

The interpretations of Hebron and of Jerusalem indicate two instances where the author of Joshua reinterprets and qualifies pro-Judean stories from Judg 1. Joshua 15:13–19 clarifies that Hebron was a gift from the northern hero Joshua to Caleb (15:13–19), rather than from Judah (Judg 1:10, 20); while Josh 15:63 states that Judeans continue to pollute Jerusalem by living in the city with Jebusites (15:63). Both stories fit uneasily into the literary context of Josh 15. The gift of Hebron to Caleb is completed in 14:6–15 without the need for a second version in 15:13–19. In a similar way, the judgment of the Judeans who live in the city of Jerusalem conflicts with the description of Judah's northern border, in which Jebus is located within Benjamin in Josh 15:8. Yet each story advances the aims of the author of Joshua to restrict the land of Judah and to evaluate critically the people of Judah in Jerusalem.

SUMMARY

Past research on Josh 15 has emphasized the author's southern and pro-Judean point of view. The support for this conclusion is the literary theory of the Deuteronomistic Historian as the central author of Joshua, who is identified as pro-Judean and also viewed as composing the book within the larger literary context of Deuteronomy–Kings. Further literary evidence for the pro-Judean perspective of the book of Joshua includes the initial position of Judah in the allotment of land west of the Jordan River, the abundance of detail concerning the borders and the internal districts of Judah, and the size of Judah's territory. The attention to the territory of Judah is judged to be a form of idealization, which indicates the author's favorable attitude toward Judah. Nelson (1997: 185) represents the judgment of many researchers when he concludes, "Owing to the author's southern perspective, Judah naturally comes first and has far more space devoted to it than any other tribes." Erisman (2019: 97) adds that the territory of Judah is designed "to evoke the glory of the Davidic past." Judah certainly looms large in the book of Joshua, and it does come to the forefront in the distribution of land to the twelve tribes. But the point of view of the author is northern, not southern. The people of Judah and the territory of the tribe are not idealized by the author. The pollution of the camp in the first half of the book was the result of the Judahite, Achan (Josh 7). In the second half of the book, the author judges the territory of Judah to be too large (19:9) and the people of Judah to be a continuing source of pollution by living with Jebusites in the city of Jerusalem (15:63), even while Jerusalem is removed from the territory of Judah.

The aim in the allotment of land is to limit the territory of Judah and to make a clear separation between the tribal territories of Benjamin and Judah. The author maps the southern border of Judah in the tradition of the tribal description of the promised land (Ezek 47:13–23, 48:1–29; Num 34:1–12), in which the southern border is extended to Kadesh-barnea. But once the southern border is established, the author allocates the southernmost area to Simeon (Josh 19:2–7) and the more northern area surrounding Hebron to Caleb (15:13–19), thus reducing the southern extent of Judah's land. The author also separates Benjamin and Judah by creating the northern border, which carefully locates Jerusalem outside of the territory of Judah (15:5b–11). The separation of Judah and Benjamin dislocates the source document of place-names and it also contrasts to Neh 11, where the two regions flow together as the one province of Yehud. The result of the author's description of the territory of Judah is that its land is limited in the book of Joshua, not idealized. The problem of Judah having too much land (19:9) will be reversed in the next section (Josh 16–17), when the focus shifts to the northern sons of Joseph, whose allotment is too small (17:14).

Sons of Joseph: Ephraim and Manasseh (16:1–17:18)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The theme in Josh 16–17 is the inheritance of the sons of Joseph, distributed between the tribes of Ephraim (16:5–10) and Manasseh (17:1–13). The literary structure of Josh 16–17 provides guidelines for interpretation. The sons of Joseph (16:1–4, 17:14–18) frame the more specific inheritance of the tribes of Ephraim (16:5–10) and of Manasseh (17:1–13), indicating the author's intent to assimilate Ephraim and Manasseh within the broader category of the sons of Joseph. The chapters may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Sons of Joseph: Borders (16:1–4)
2. Tribe of Ephraim (16:5–10)
    A. Borders and Shared Cities (16:5–9)
    B. Exclusion of Gezer (16:10)
3. Tribe of Manasseh (17:1–13)
    A. Daughters of Zelophehad (17:1–6)
    B. Borders and Shared Cities (17:7–10)
    C. Exclusion of Cities in Issachar and Asher (17:11–13)
4. Sons of Joseph: Exclusion of Cities (17:14–18)

The outline clarifies three sections in Josh 16–17 focusing on Joseph (nos. 1 and 4), Ephraim (no. 2), and Manasseh (no. 3). Each section has a similar structure in which the allotted territory is followed by areas excluded from tribal control. The section on the sons of Joseph includes a list of borders (16:1–4) and the exclusion of Beth-shean and the valley of Jezreel from their possession (17:14–18). In the same way, the tribe of Ephraim divides between a list of borders (16:5–9) and the exclusion of Gezer (16:10). The tribe of Manasseh departs from the pattern; it includes a list of borders (17:7–10) but then identifies the possession of further cities in Issachar and Asher, in which Canaanites continue to live (17:11–13). Manasseh departs even further from the two-part pattern of Joseph and of Ephraim with the inclusion of the genealogy of Zelophehad (17:1–6).

Translation

16:1–4. SONS OF JOSEPH: BORDERS

16 [1]The lot of the sons of Joseph went out from the Jordan, Jericho, to the waters of Jericho eastward into the wilderness, ascending from Jericho into the hill country of Bethel. [2]And it went out from Bethel to Luz and it crossed to the region of the Archites at Ataroth. [3]And it descended westward to the region of the Japhletites, until the border of lower Beth-horon, until Gezer. And its limit was at the sea.

[4]And the sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, inherited.

16:5–10. TRIBE OF EPHRAIM

16 [5]This is the region of the sons of Ephraim according to their families. The region of their inheritance was from the east of Ataroth-addar until upper Beth-horon. [6]And the region went out westward toward Michmethath from the north. And the border turns from the east to Taanath-shiloh, and it crosses it from the east toward Janoah. [7]And it descends from Janoah to Ataroth and Naarah. And it touches Jericho and it goes out to the Jordan. [8]From Tappuah the border goes westward to the Wadi Kanah. And its limit is the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Ephraim according to their families, [9]and the cities divided out to the sons of Ephraim within the inheritance of the sons of Manasseh, including all the cities and their villages.

[10]They did not dispossess the Canaanites, who dwelled in Gezer. The Canaanites dwell in the midst of Ephraim until this very day, serving in forced labor.

17:1–13. TRIBE OF MANASSEH

17 [1]The lot was for the tribe of Manasseh, because he was the firstborn of Joseph. To Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, were Gilead and Bashan, because he was a warrior. [2]And the lot was to the remaining sons of Manasseh according to their families: to the sons of Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida. These were the male descendants of Manasseh the son of Joseph according to their families.

[3]To Zelophehad son of Hepher son of Gilead son of Machir son of Manasseh there were no sons, but only daughters. These are the names of his daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. [4]And they came near before Eleazar the priest, Joshua son of Nun, and the leaders saying, "Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance in the midst of our brothers." And he gave to them according to the command of Yahweh an inheritance in the midst of the brothers of their father. [5]The division of Manasseh fell into ten beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which is across the Jordan, [6]because the daughters of Manasseh received an inheritance in the midst of his sons. But the land of Gilead was the possession of the remaining sons of Manasseh.

[7]And the region of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath, which is in front of Shechem. And the border goes out to the south to the inhabitants of En-tappuah.

[8]To Manasseh belonged the land of Tappuah, but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to Ephraim. [9]And the border descended to the Wadi Kanah, toward the south to the Wadi. These are cities that belong to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh. But the border of Manasseh was from the north to the Wadi. And its limit was the sea. [10]To the south the land belongs to Ephraim and to the north to Manasseh. The sea was its border. They reach Asher from the north and Issachar from the east.

[11]There belonged to Manasseh in Issachar and in Asher: Beth-shean and its villages; Ibleam and its villages; the inhabitants of Dor and its villages; the inhabitants of En-dor and its villages; the inhabitants of Taanach and its villages; and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its villages, the three of Naphath. [12]And the sons of Manasseh were not able to dispossess these cities. And the Canaanites continued to dwell in this land. [13]And when the Israelites became strong, they put the Canaanites to forced labor. But he did not dispossess him.

17:14–18. SONS OF JOSEPH: EXCLUSION OF CITIES

17 [14]And the sons of Joseph spoke to Joshua saying, "Why did you give me an inheritance of one lot and one division? But I am a great people, until now Yahweh has blessed me."

[15]And Joshua said to them, "If you are a great people, ascend to the forest and clear it for yourself in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim, since the hill country of Ephraim is too narrow for you."

[16]And the sons of Joseph said, "The hill country is not sufficient for us, but iron chariots are among the Canaanites who dwell in the valley land, including those in Beth-shean and its villages and in the valley of Jezreel."

[17]And Joshua said to the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, "You are a great people, possessing great power. There will not be one lot for you, [18]for the hill country will be yours. Though it is forest, you will clear it and its limit will be your possession, because you will dispossess the Canaanites, even though he possesses an iron chariot and is strong."

Notes

In addition to the MT and the LXX, the Dead Sea Scroll 4Q48 (4QJoshb) contains material on Josh 16–17, with two fragments that describe the border of Manasseh: fragment 4 (17:1–5) and fragment 5 (17:11–15). Both fragments tend to agree with the MT over the LXX (Tov, 1995). Another source for evaluating the text of Josh 16–17 is the Samaria Ostraca, discovered at Sebastia Nablus in the area of ancient Samaria (Lemaire, 1977; Na'aman, 2019). There are 102 ostraca, of which 63 are legible. The Samaria Ostraca records the delivery of wine and oil to the capital city of Samaria in the early eighth century BCE, before the downfall of the Northern Kingdom. The focus of research has been on the insights the ostraca provide into the earliest form of Hebrew writing, but they also include place-names that appear as personal names in the genealogy of Manasseh (17:2–3).

The MT and the LXX diverge in a number of ways in Josh 16–17, providing different information on the genealogy of Manasseh and of Zelophehad (17:3–5). The lack of clearly defined boundaries has also resulted in differences in geography between the MT and the LXX. The borders of the sons of Joseph in the MT of 16:1–4 includes the waters of Jericho, Ataroth, Gezer, and a reference to the Archites, all of which are absent in the LXX; while the reference to Chatorothi in the LXX is missing in the MT. In the description of the borders of Ephraim (16:5–9), Naarah occurs only in the MT, while Gazara, Therma, and Macho are restricted to the LXX. In addition, the hyphenated cities of Ataroth-addar and Taanath-shiloh in the MT become separate place-names in the LXX: Ataroth, Erok, Thenasa, and Sellesa. The MT description of the borders of Manasseh in 17:7–10 includes Asher, Michmethath, Shechem, and the Wadi Kanah, which are absent in the LXX; while the locations of Delanath, sons of Anath, Iamin, Iassih, valley of Barana, and valley of Iariel, as well as the identification of a terebinth tree, appear only in the LXX. The summary indicates that the two textual traditions diverge in nearly as many instances in drawing the borders of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh as the places they share in common. The MT and the LXX also diverge in the description of the cities excluded from Israelite control. The MT identification of the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim as outside of the control of the sons of Joseph (17:15) and the cities of Ibleam, En-dor, and Taanach as outside of the control of Manasseh (17:11) is absent from the LXX.

The description of the city of Gezer (16:10) is also different in the MT and the LXX. The city represents the territory excluded from the control of the tribe of Ephraim. The MT states that Ephraim did not exterminate the Canaanites from Gezer, although they did enslave them (16:10). The LXX adds a historical conclusion, in which the reference "to this very day" is no longer the present time of the writer, as in the MT, but the occasion when Pharaoh sacked Gezer: "And the Chananite dwelled in Ephraim *unto this day*, until Pharao, king of Egypt, went up and took it, and burnt it in fire, and stabbed the Chananites, the Pherizites, and the inhabitants of Gazer. And Pharaoh gave it as dowry to his daughter." The emphasis of the MT on the present state of pollution from the Canaanites in Gezer is shifted to the past in the LXX by including an inner-biblical interpretation of 1 Kgs 9:16; it recounts the Egyptian conquest of Gezer and the gift of the city to Solomon by Pharaoh. A similar contrast in point of view is evident in the evaluation of the Jebusites in Jerusalem (15:63) and in the curse on rebuilding Jericho (6:26). The positive portrayal of Pharaoh in the LXX may also reflect an idealization of Egypt evident in the LXX version of the circumcision story (5:2–12).

16:1 *lot.* The Hebrew *gôrāl,* "lot," is rendered in the LXX *ta horia,* "border, boundary" (see also 15:1, 17:1). Auld (1998: 24) judged the LXX to be original and the motif of the "lot" in the MT to be a later addition (compare Gass, 2019: 156). See the "Notes" to 15:1.

Jordan. See the "Notes" to 1:4.

Jericho. The syntax of the MT does not clarify the relationship of the Jordan and Jericho, *miyyardēn yĕrîḥô.* The problem of syntax continues throughout the section. The LXX provides a clearer description of the relationship of the different locations, *apo tou iordanou tou kata ierichō,* "from the Iordan against/near Iericho."

the waters of Jericho. The Hebrew *mê yĕrîḥô* occurs only in Josh 16:1. The specific location of the water within the vicinity of Jericho is unclear. The phrase is absent in the LXX. Butler (2014a: 181) states that the aim of the MT is to "ensure that the border is understood to have been outside Jericho, so that Jericho is not included in Joseph's territory." Simons (1959: 163) associated the site with the springs Ain Nu'eimeh and Ain Duyuq.

into the wilderness, ascending from Jericho into the hill country. The participial form of *ʿōleh,* "ascending," is unusual and does not appear in the LXX. Boling and Wright (1982: 396) suspect haplography in the MT, in which "wilderness mountain" (*h[r hmdb]r*) is rendered "wilderness" (*hammidbār*). The LXX also includes reference to the "wilderness" and the "highland/plain," but in a different order, *anabēsetai apo ierichō eis tēn oreinēn tēn erēmon,* "it will go up from Iericho to the plain of the desert." For discussion of the wilderness, see the "Notes" to 1:4; and for the highland/hill country, see the "Notes" to 10:40.

Bethel. The LXX *baithēl louza,* "Baithel, Louza," associates Luz with Bethel. The reference to Luz occurs in the MT of 16:2 with the directional *he, lûzāh,* "to Luz." The LXX "Louza" suggests the translator has incorporated the directional *he,* "to, toward," as part of the name of the city. Moatti-Fine (1996: 190) notes that Louza is also included with Bethel in the Madaba map. For discussion of Bethel and Luz, see the "Notes" to 7:2.

16:2 *And it went out from Bethel to Luz.* The LXX describes a different border that extends "to Baithel" (*eis baithēl*), rather than "from Bethel" in the MT (*mibbêt-ʾēl*), with no mention of Luz, as in the MT (*lûzāh,* "to Luz"). Steuernagel (1923: 272) interprets the reference to Luz in the MT as a gloss.

and it crossed to the region of the Archites at Ataroth. The LXX provides a different reading, *pareleusetai epi ta horia tou chatarōthi,* "and it will go out to the region of Chatarothi." The place-name in the LXX may have resulted from the corruption and the combination of the words "Archites" and "Ataroth."

Archites. The Hebrew *ʾarkî* is not listed with the indigenous nations in the book of Joshua. Reference is limited in Joshua to 16:2, where the Archites are located in the area of Ataroth. The only other reference to the ethnic group is in the identification of Hushai, the counselor of David, during the revolt of Absalom, who is described as an Archite without further description of his place of residency (2 Sam 15–17). The term is absent in the LXX.

Ataroth. The Hebrew *ʿăṭārôt* means "crowns." The term designates two or three different locations. (1) Ataroth is a city on the west side of the Jordan River that defines the southern border of the sons of Joseph (16:2). There is debate over the identification of Ataroth, whether it reaches as far as Tell ʿel-Mazar in the lower part of the Wadi Far'ah, as Kallai (1986: 159) concluded, or Tell Sheʿed-Diyam, as suggested by B. Mazar (1960a: 194, 198). Ataroth-addar is also a city on the west side of the Jordan River that belongs to Benjamin (18:13) and to the tribe of Ephraim (16:5, 7). The LXX translates 16:5 as two locations, *atarōth kai erok,* "Ataroth and Erok"; in 16:7 the two versions are similar: MT *ăṭārôt,* LXX *atarōth.* Historical geographers debate whether Ataroth in 16:2, 7 and Ataroth-addar in 16:5 and 18:13 are the same or different locations. Boling and Wright (1982: 402) argue for the same place-name, suggesting that "-adder" has fallen out of 16:2 and presumably 16:7 as well. Kallai (1986: 147) identified the second reference to Ataroth (16:7) as a distinct city, located farther north than the Ataroth in 16:2. I tentatively follow Boling and Wright. If the two locations are the same, however, the eastern border of Ephraim juts in significantly westward from Janoah to Ataroth-addar before turning east toward Naarah, Jericho, and the Jordan River (16:7). (2) Ataroth is a city on the east side of the Jordan River that does not appear in the book of Joshua. Numbers 32:34 states that the tribe of Gad captured this city from Sihon, the king of the Amorites. The Mesha Inscription also refers to Ataroth on the east side of the Jordan River as a city that Mesha destroyed (*ANET* 320).

16:3 *Japhletites.* The Hebrew *yaplēṭî* occurs only once in the reference to an ethnic group located on the southern border of Ephraim in Josh 16:3.

Beth-horon. See the "Notes" to 10:10.

Gezer. The LXX lacks the reference to Gezer. The place-name appears in the LXX of 16:5. See the "Notes" to 10:33.

the sea. See the "Notes" to 1:4.

16:4 *Manasseh and Ephraim.* The LXX reverses the order of the MT, writing *ephraim kai manasse.*

16:5 *Ataroth-addar.* The LXX distinguishes two cities, *atarōth kai erok.* See the "Notes" to *Ataroth* at 16:2.

Beth-horon. The LXX adds the reference to *gazara,* Gezer.

16:6 *And the region went out westward toward Michmethath from the north.* The LXX adds the place-name *therma.*

Michmethath. The Hebrew *mikmētāt* occurs as a border of Ephraim (16:6) and Manasseh (17:7). The latter reference places the site within the area of Shechem. Michmethath has been identified with a number of sites, including Khirbet Julejil, Khirbet Kafr Beta, Khirbet Ta'na el-Foqa, and 'et-Tawanik. The definite article *hammikmētāt* suggests Michmethath may designate a geographical or topographical location, such as a mountain or a valley (Kallai, 1986: 150–51), in which case Jebel el-Kabir—a mountain northeast of Shechem—may be its location (E. F. Campbell, 1984: 69; Na'aman, 1986: 153).

Taanath-shiloh. The Hebrew *ta'ănat šilōh* occurs only once as a location in Ephraim (16:6). The LXX renders the single place-name as two locations, *thenasa kai sellēsa.* Kallai (1986b: 158–59) follows the listing in Eusebius (*Onomasticon,* lines 13, 19), which identifies Taanath-shiloh with Ta'na el-Foqa. Na'aman (1986: 157) adds that Taanath-shiloh may designate a "sacred tree on the boundary near the banks of the wadi Tirzeh," reflecting the root meaning of *tĕ'ēnâ* as "fig tree."

and crosses it. The inclusion of the accusative pronoun *'ōtô,* "it," is unclear in the MT; the masculine form does not correspond to the feminine cities of Michmethath or Taanath-shiloh, and it is absent in the LXX. Noth (1971b: 100) and Steuernagel (1923: 273) favor the LXX. Na'aman (1986: 155–56) favors the MT, translating, "and passed it on the east towards Janoah," with the antecedent designating either Michmethath or Taanath-shiloh understood in context as referring to an object (either a mountain or sacred tree associated with these locations).

Janoah. The Hebrew *yānôḥâ* designates two locations, one of which occurs in the book of Joshua. (1) Janoah is a city on the eastern border of Ephraim. Na'aman (1986: 157) states "Janoah should be located somewhere along wadi Tirzah." The city is mentioned twice in 16:6–7, with each occurrence including the final *he,* but with different functions. The first occurrence, *yānôāh* (16:6), indicates the directional *he,* "to/toward Janoah." The second, *miyyānôḥâ,* "from Janoah," suggests the final *he* is either part of the place-name or simply an error in the MT. The LXX of 16:7 lacks the opening verb in the MT, *wĕyārad,* "and it descended," as well as the reference to Janoah, *miyyānôḥâ,*

"from Janoah." In its place, the LXX adds a place-name, *machō,* which is either a corrupted form of the Hebrew *miyyānôḥâ* or a distinct location absent in the MT. (2) Janoah is a city in northern Galilee conquered by Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 15:29). The location is absent from the book of Joshua.

16:7 *Naarah.* The Hebrew *na'ărātâ* occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible as a location on the eastern side of Ephraim in the area of Jericho (16:7); it is absent in the LXX. Boling and Wright (1982: 402) cite a private exchange with M. Patrick O'Connor who writes, "LXX took the latter (Hebrew, *n'rth*) to be *n'r(w)t(y)h* understood as equivalent to *bnwtyh,* 'its daughter-towns, dependencies.'" The confusion results in the Greek *kai hai kōmai autōn,* "and their villages" (see also Auld, 1998: 184). The related or similar site, *na'ăran,* "Naaran," occurs as a location in Ephraim in 1 Chr 7:28. The LXX translates *naaran.*

16:8 *Tappuah.* See the "Notes" to 12:17.

Wadi Kanah. The Hebrew *qānâ* is a by-form of *qāneh,* meaning "reed." The term is used to designate two locations in the book of Joshua. (1) Wadi Kanah, *naḥal qānâ,* is a stream that functions as a border between Ephraim (16:8) and Manasseh (17:9). The LXX translates 16:8 *chelkana;* and 17:9, *pharagga karana.* The ancient site is often identified with the Wadi Qanah, on the basis of the similarity of the place-names and geographical plausibility (Kallai, 1986: 153). (2) Kanah is a city in the territory of the tribe of Asher (19:28), located in the vicinity of Sidon. The Greek translates *kanthan* (LXXA) and *kana* (LXXB). This city also appears as *q-n* in the Egyptian city list of Thutmose III (*ANET* 256). Historical geographers identify the ancient city with contemporary Qana. The northern location of Kanah must be distinguished from the location Cana of Galilee in the New Testament literature (e.g., John 2:1–11), which is identified with contemporary Khirbet Qana.

16:10 *serving in forced labor.* The MT may be an inner-biblical reference to the slave status of the indigenous nations under Solomon (1 Kgs 9:20–21). The enslavement of the indigenous nations also repeats at the outset of the book of Judges (1:28–35). The LXX lacks the conclusion in the MT concerning the present social status of the Canaanites as slaves to the people of Ephraim.

LXX 16:10a *And the Chananite dwelled in Ephraim until this day, until Pharao, the king of Egypt, went up and took it, and burnt it in fire, and stabbed the Chananite, the Pherezites, and the inhabitants in Gazer. And Pharao gave it as dowry to his daughter.* The LXX provides a different ending that also refers to Solomon (1 Kgs 9:21). M. Rösel (2018: 146) noted that the LXX version of Joshua departs from the Greek of Kings, suggesting an independent translation. In contrast to the MT, the LXX adds an historical conclusion about Gezer, in which the reference "this day" is no longer the present time of the writer, but the historical occasion when Pharaoh sacked Gezer (2018: 139–57). The same strategy of turning a critical evaluation of a city in the MT into an historical statement is evident in the LXX evaluation of the Jebusites in Jerusalem (15:63).

17:1 *The lot was for the tribe . . . because he was the firstborn . . . because he was a warrior.* The Hebrew is ambiguous. The sentence is structured around two *kî* clauses, which provide the reason for the tribe of Manasseh's inheritance of land through two generations. First, Manasseh inherited land because (*kî*) he was the firstborn of Joseph, *kî-hû' bĕkôr yôsēp,* and second, Machir inherited land because (*kî*) he was a warrior, *kî hû' hāyâ 'îš milḥāmâ.* The additional comment that Manasseh or Machir is the father of

Gilead creates confusion. The LXX provides no further clarity with *toi iōsēph tōi machir prōtotokōi manassē patri galaad*, "to Machir, the firstborn of Manasse father of Gilaad." Auld (1998: 185) judged the leitmotif of the firstborn to be a distraction; S. Aḥituv (1984: 281) suggested that it is intended to emphasize the vast territory attributed to Manasseh. Noth (1971b: 100) accounted for the motif through composition; the reference to firstborn indicated that the territorial description of Manasseh originally preceded that of Ephraim. The repetition of firstborn status over two generations may be intended to relate the western and the eastern territories of Manasseh to each other (see the "Comments").

lot. The Hebrew *gôrāl*, "lot," is rendered in the LXX *ta horia*, "border, boundary." See the "Notes" to 15:1, 16:1.

tribe of Manasseh. The Hebrew *maṭṭēh mĕnaššeh* appears as "tribe of the sons of Manasse" in the LXX.

Machir. See the "Comments" to Josh 13.

Gilead. See the "Notes" to 12:2 and the "Comments" to Josh 13.

Bashan. See the "Notes" to 9:2 and the "Comments" to Josh 13.

17:2 *And the lot was to the remaining . . . according to their families.* The order of the genealogy is different in the MT and the LXX. Table 5 illustrates that the LXX reverses the order of the last two names so that the genealogy concludes with Opher (= Hepher). This is similar to the genealogy of Manasseh in Num 26:28–34. The order in the LXX better fits the larger context, where the focus turns to problems of inheritance in the genealogy of Hepher, whose son, Zelophehad, lacks surviving males (17:3–6).

Abiezer. The Hebrew *ʾăbîʿezer* means "my father is help" (Noth, 1928: 154). The name identifies a person in three distinct tribes: (1) a leader in the tribe of Dan, who is the son of Ammishaddai (Num 1:12); (2) one of David's heroic warriors from the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam 23:27, 1 Chr 27:12); and (3) the son of Manasseh (Josh 17:2). Gideon of the tribe of Manasseh is also identified with the same clan of Abiezer (Judg 6:11, 24, 34; 8:2, 32). Abiezer (*abi-ʿezer*) is a location in the territory of Manasseh in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 13; see Thomas, 1958: 215; Lemaire, 1977: 21–81).

Helek. The Hebrew *ḥēleq* means "portion," as in a share of booty (Gen 14:24, Num 31:36). Noth (1928: 163) interpreted the name as a shortened form of *ḥilqiyyāhû*, "portion of Yahweh." Helek is a descendent of Manasseh in Josh 17:2 and of Gilead in Num 26:39. Helek is a location in the territory of Manasseh in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 22).

Table 5. Order of genealogy in the MT and LXX

English (NRSV)	*MT*	*LXX*
(1) Abiezer	(1) *ʾăbîʿezer*	(1) *iezer*
(2) Helek	(2) *ḥeleq*	(2) *kelez*
(3) Asriel	(3) *ʾaśrîʾēl*	(3) *iesiēl*
(4) Shechem	(4) *šekem*	(4) *suchem*
(5) Hepher	(5) *ḥēper*	(6) *sumarim*
(6) Shemida	(6) *š;abemîdāʿ*	(5) *opher*

Asriel. The Hebrew *ʾaśrîʾēl* may mean "to bind by an oath" (Noth, 1928: 183). Asriel is a descendent of Manasseh (17:2), whose mother is identified as an Aramean concubine (1 Chr 7:14). The LXX translates *ieziēl.* The Hebrew *ʾăśrēʾēl*, "Asarel," identifies a descendent of Judah (1 Chr 4:16); the LXX translates *ieseēl.* Isriel is a location in the territory of Manasseh in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 13).

Shechem. See the "Notes" to 17:7. Shechem is a location in the territory of Manasseh in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 44).

Hepher. The Hebrew *ḥēper* designates both a place and a person in the Hebrew Bible, as well as a place in the Samaria Ostraca (Thomas, 1958: 205). Hepher is the father of Zelophehad in 17:2–3, although there is tension between vv. 2 and 3 whether to locate Hepher in the genealogy of Manasseh with the tribes west (17:2) or with Machir east (17:3) of the Jordan. Lemaire (1972: 13–20) proposed that the land of Hepher was west of the Jordan River and encompassed the five districts represented by the daughters of Zelophehad (see also Na'aman, 1986: 160). See the "Notes" to 12:17, where Hepher is clearly a city west of the Jordan whose king was conquered by Joshua.

Shemida. The Hebrew *šĕmîdāʿ* is unclear in meaning. Noth (1971b: 96) proposed the reading *šemyādāʿ*, consisting of the element *šem* ("name") + *yādāʿ* ("to know" or "to be concerned about"). The LXX translates *sumarim.* Shemida is identified within the tribe of Manasseh in the second census in the book of Numbers as the son of Gilead (Num 26:32), while in the book of Joshua he is the son of Manasseh (Josh 17:2) (see Klein, 2006: 223–24). First Chronicles 7:19 provides a distinct genealogy of Manasseh, in which Shemida is the father of Shechem (for discussion of the problems in the text, see Knoppers, 2003: 463; and Klein, 2006: 225). Shemida is a place-name in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 3, 30).

17:3 *To Zelophehad son of Hepher son of Gilead son of Machir son of Manasseh there were no sons, but only daughters.* The material available in 4Q48 (4QJoshb) supports the MT, as compared to the LXX, which reduces the five generations to two, *tōi salpaad huiōi opher*, "Salpaad son of Hopher."

Mahlah. The Hebrew *maḥlâ* means "sickness." The reference to the daughter of Zelophehad occurs in Josh 17:3; Num 26:33, 27:1, and 36:11. The LXX translates *maala.*

Noah. The Hebrew *nōʿâ* designates a daughter of Zelophehad in Josh 17:3; Num 26:33, 27:1, and 36:11. Noah is a place-name in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 50). The Hebrew *nēʿâ*, "Neah," is an unrelated location in Zebulun in Josh 19:13.

Hoglah. The Hebrew *ḥoglâ* means "partridge." The reference to the daughter of Zelophehad occurs in Josh 17:3; Num 26:33, 27:1, and 36:11. Hoglah is a place-name in the Samaria Ostraca (Ostracon 45). The location Beth-hoglah also marks the border of Ephraim (15:6) and Benjamin (18:19, 21).

Milcah. The Hebrew *milkâ* means "princess." The reference to the daughter of Zelophehad occurs in Josh 17:3; Num 26:33, 27:1, and 36:11. The name occurs one other time as the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham (e.g., Gen 11:29).

Tirzah. The Hebrew *tirṣâ* may mean "pleasant." The reference to the daughter of Zelophehad occurs in Josh 17:3; Num 26:33, 27:1, and 36:11. See the "Notes" to 12:24.

17:4 *Joshua, son of Nun.* The LXX lacks "son of Nun."

Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance in the midst of our brothers. The statement is an inner-biblical reference to the original request for inheritance in Num 27:1–11. The request is one of four instances in the Pentateuch in which a situation lacks legal precedent for resolution, requiring Moses to seek revelation in order to adjudicate. The other three are the blasphemer (Lev 24:10–24), the delayed Passover (Num 9:6–14), and gathering wood on the Sabbath (Lev 15:32–36). For discussion, see M. Fishbane (1985: 231–77).

And he gave to them according to the command of Yahweh an inheritance in the midst of the brothers of their father. The Hebrew is somewhat ambiguous. The quotation of the daughters of Zelophehad is completed in the previous sentence. The subject of the verb, *wayyitēn,* "and he gave," must be Joshua. The masculine plural suffix *lāhem,* "to them," is most likely the daughters of Zelophehad. The LXX *edothe autais,* "it was given to them," clarifies the MT by using the passive verb impersonally in combination with the feminine plural form of the personal pronoun.

17:5 *The division of Manasseh fell into ten.* The LXX lacks a reference to Manasseh, *mĕnaššeh,* and to the number ten, *ʿăśārâ,* while including the geographical locations *anassa,* "Anassa," and *pedion labek,* "the plain of Labek," which results in the reading, "And their portion fell from Anassa and the plain of Labek."

beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which is across the Jordan. The LXX lacks the reference to Bashan. For discussion of Gilead, see the "Notes" to 12:2; and of Bashan, see the "Notes" to 9:10.

17:6 *because the daughters of Manasseh.* The LXX writes *hoti thugateres huiōn manassē,* "because the daughters of the sons of Manasse."

received an inheritance in the midst of his sons. The LXX writes *en mesōi tōn adelpheōn autōn,* "in the midst of their brothers."

17:7 *And the region of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath, which is in front of Shechem.* The LXX provides distinct geographical information at this point. The LXXB includes the city *dēlanath,* "Dalanath," while the LXXA follows more closely the MT, *apo asēr machthōth,* "from Asher, Machthoth."

Shechem. The Hebrew *šĕkem* means "back" or "shoulder." L. E. Toombs (1992: 1174) states that the name likely derives from the location of the city on the mountain pass between Ebal and Gerizim. Shechem designates a place and a person in the Hebrew Bible. The references to Shechem are clustered in two stories: as a person, Shechem and Dinah (Gen 34; fourteen occurrences), and as a place-name, the kingship of Abimelech, the son of Gideon (Judg 8–9; twenty-six occurrences). These two stories indicate that Shechem functions for the most part negatively in the Hebrew Bible, likely reflecting a southern, pro-Judean point of view. In this tradition, Shechem is associated with the northern monarch Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12). Twice the city or its residents are destroyed in cautionary legends. The first is an anti-Samaritan story against intermarriage (Gen 34); the second is the antimonarchical story of Abimelech (Judg 9). The prophet Hosea also associates Shechem with murder (Hos 6:9), while Ben Sira describes its Samaritan residents as foolish people (Sir 50:26). A more positive portrayal of Shechem also emerges. In this cluster of stories, Shechem is the location where Abraham receives his first divine promise of land and responds by building an altar to Yahweh (Gen 12:6–7); Shechem is also the location where Jacob erects an altar to "El, the God of Israel" (Gen 34:20), and buries foreign gods under a terebinth tree (Gen 35:4). The MT version of Josh 24 is written in the positive tradition of Shechem. Shechem is the central place of worship at Ebal/Gerizim (Josh 8:30–35) and the gathering place of the Israelite tribes for the covenant ceremony (24:1–33). But there is also tension over the location of Shechem. The author of Joshua locates it within the territory of Manasseh (MT 17:7), as compared to the late Priestly additions, which locate it in Ephraim (20:7, 21:21; see also 1 Chr 6:67). The LXX and the MT also contrast in the presentation of Shechem in Joshua. Table 6 provides an overview of the contrasts.

Table 6. MT and LXX presentations of Shechem in Joshua

Text	*MT*	*LXXA*	*LXXB*
17:7	Shechem	Suchem	Sons of Anath
20:7	Shechem	Suchem	Suchem
21:21	Shechem	Suchem	Suchem
24:1	Shechem	Sēlō	Sēlō
24:25	Shechem	Sēlō	Sēlō
24:32	Shechem	Sikima	Sikima
24:32	The sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem	From the Amorites living in Sikima	From the Amorites living in Sikima

Table 6 indicates that in the LXX Shechem remains a city of refuge (*suchem,* 20:7) and a Levitical city (*suchem,* 21:21). But the LXXB lacks a reference to Shechem as part of the territory of Manasseh (17:7), citing instead *huiōn anath,* "the sons of Anath" (compare *suchem* in the LXXA). The LXX also has a different setting for the covenant ceremony, locating the event at Shiloh rather than Shechem (*sēlō;* 24:1, 25). The LXX lacks the MT reference to the eponymous ancestor Shechem as the identification of those who sold the burial ground for Joseph's bones, identifying the sellers instead as the "Amorites," who live in Sikima, the alternate spelling of Shechem (*en sikimois;* 24:32). The textual variations indicate that the LXX eliminates the association of Shechem with Manasseh. See the "Comments" to Josh 24.

And the border goes out to the south to the inhabitants of En-tappuah. The LXX interprets the Hebrew *yāmîn,* "south," as the location "Iamin," and *yōšbê,* "inhabitants," as the location "Iassib."

En-tappuah. The Hebrew *ʿên tappûaḥ* means "spring of the apple." The term occurs once as a location in Manasseh (17:7). See the "Notes" to 12:17.

17:8 *Tappuah.* See the "Notes" to 12:17.

17:9 *And the border descended to the Wadi Kanah, toward the south to the Wadi.* The LXX identifies the wadi more precisely as near *pharagga iariēl,* "the valley of Iariel."

These are cities that belong to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh. The MT *ʿārîm hāʾēlleh,* "these are cities," lacks the definite article on *ʿārîm,* "cities." The LXX *tereminthos* may reflect a reading of the demonstrative pronoun *hāʾēlleh,* "these," as *ʾallâ,* "terebinth" or "cultic tree," which would give rise to the following translation: "A terebinth tree belonging to Ephraim is in the midst of a city of Manasse."

17:10 *its border. They reach.* The singular suffix *gĕbûlô,* "its border," does not correspond to the plural verb *yipgĕʿûn,* "they reach." The singular suffix raises the question of whether the antecedent is only Manasseh, or both Manasseh and Ephraim, as suggested by the plural verb. The LXX translates the singular suffix as plural, *autois,* thus corresponding to the plural verb *sunapsousin.* Noth (1971b: 104) regards the singular suffix as a mistake; J. J. Simons (1948: 191–96) changes the singular suffix to the plural, *gĕbûlām.*

17:11 *Beth-shean . . . Ibleam . . . Dor . . . En-dor . . . Taanach . . . Megiddo and . . . Naphath.* The syntax of v. 11 is difficult, perhaps unsolvable, according to Auld (1975: 280). The order of the locations in the MT is different in 4Q48 (4QJoshb) (Tov, 1995: 158–59), while Naphath is also written in the plural (*hnpwt*) (van der Meer, 2004: 103–4). The LXX lacks Ibleam, En-dor, and Taanach.

Beth-shean. The Hebrew *bêt šĕ'ān* occurs only once in the book of Joshua as an unconquered Canaanite city in the region of Issachar that was considered a possession of Manasseh (17:11; see also Judg 1:27). The LXX translates *baithsan.* The city of Beth-shean has been extensively excavated and identified with Tell el-Husn, situated at the strategic location in northern Palestine where the Jezreel and the Jordan valleys meet. The city plays a minor role in the Hebrew Bible. In addition to the passing reference in Joshua, Beth-shean is also the city associated with the death of Saul (e.g., 1 Sam 31:10, 12; 2 Sam 21:12), and it is mentioned as part of the fifth district of Solomon (1 Kgs 4:12).

Ibleam. The Hebrew *yiblĕʿām* occurs only once in the book of Joshua as an unconquered Canaanite city in the region of Issachar considered a possession of Manasseh (17:11; see also Judg 1:27). The location is absent from the LXX of 17:11 and is translated *balaam,* "Balaam," in Judg 1:27. The site is identified with Khirbet Bel'ameh, a location southeast of Beth-shean. The list of place-names originating with Thutmose III makes reference to the city already in the Bronze Age (*ANET* 242). Ibleam also reappears in the Hebrew Bible as the location where Jehu killed the Judaean king Ahaziah (2 Kgs 9:27).

the inhabitants of. The emphasis is not simply on the cities, but the residents of the cities, which become the point of focus in 17:12–18.

Dor. See the "Notes" to 11:2.

En-dor. Absent in the LXX. See the "Notes" to 11:2.

Taanach. Absent in the LXX. See the "Notes" to 12:21.

Megiddo. See the "Notes" to 12:21.

the three of Naphath. The meaning of the phrase is unclear. The Hebrew *šĕlōšet hannāpet* may be a marginal note now incorporated into the MT, as argued by G. Dahl (1934), who stated that the purpose was to clarify that Dor was in fact Naphoth-dor, as in 11:2 and 12:23. 4Q48 (4QJoshb) writes the location in the plural (*hnpwt*), while the LXX interprets the phrase as referring to a specific location, *kai to triton tēs napheta kai tas kōmas autēs,* "and the third part of Napheta and its villages."

17:13 *But he did not dispossess him.* The use of the singular *hôrîšô* in the MT is unexpected (see also 4Q48 [4QJoshb]). The LXX continues with the use of the plural from the previous sentence, *autous ouk exōlethreusan,* "they did not utterly destroy them."

17:14 *until now.* The Hebrew is difficult, *'ad 'ăšer-'ad-kōh.* Tov (1995: 159) interprets the MT as a doublet, while 4Q48 (4QJosh^b) reads *'m rb ašr ch.* The translation conveys temporal force, which indicates blessing up to the present time. The LXX lacks the temporal meaning, reading *egō de laos polus eimi,* "I am a great people."

17:15 *to them.* The plural in the MT, *'ălêhem,* is unexpected, since the references to the "sons of Joseph" have been in the singular in v. 14 ("why did you give me," "I am a great people," and "Yahweh has blessed me"). The LXX also writes *autois,* "to them."

hill country of Ephraim. The Hebrew *har-'eprāyim* is a geographical description also translated "Mount Ephraim." The scope of the territory and its relationship to the territory of the tribe of Ephraim are debated. Noth (1971b: 60) suggested the geographical term may originally have been confined to a small area northeast of Bethel, noting the identification of Ephraim as a location near Baal-hazor (2 Sam 13:23), but that it was expanded over time to include a much larger area that exceeded the tribal boundaries of Ephraim. Kallai (1986: 47–48) disagreed, preferring to interpret the region as being part of the tribal territory of Ephraim. Na'aman (1986: 164–65) favored the broader interpretation of the hill country of Ephraim, noting its meaning in 17:14–15, where Joshua allotted the hill country of Ephraim to the sons of Joseph. "It is clear," he writes, "that the tribes of both Ephraim and Manasseh—and not Ephraim alone—settled within the confines of Mount Ephraim." The hill country of Ephraim is used often as a general geographical designation in Judges (e.g., 3:27; 4:5; 7:24; 10:1; 17:1, 8; 18:2, 13; 19:1, 16, 18), Samuel (e.g., 1 Sam 1:1, 9:4, 14:22; 2 Sam 20:21), and Kings (e.g., 1 Kgs 4:8, 12:25; 2 Kgs 5:22), but in the prophetic corpus it is confined to Jeremiah (e.g., 4:15, 31:6, 50:19). The more common use of Ephraim in prophetic literature is to designate the Northern Kingdom (e.g., Isa 7:2, 5, 8; 9:9, 21; 11:13; 17:3; 28:1, 3; Jer 7:15; Hos 4:17; 5:3, 5, 9, 11; 6:4; and so forth). As noted by Na'aman, the hill country of Ephraim is introduced in the book of Joshua to describe the inheritance of the sons of Joseph, where it designates the joint territory of Ephraim and Manasseh (17:15); it returns four additional times to describe the location of Joshua's inheritance of and burial at Timnath-serah (19:50, 24:30), the burial location of Eleazar (24:33), and the location of Shechem as a city of refuge (20:7).

clear it for yourself. The object, "it," is missing in the MT.

in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim. Absent in the LXX.

too narrow for you. The Hebrew verb *'āṣ* normally means "to urge" or "to be in haste," as in the description of the sun in 10:13: "it did not hasten (*wĕlō'-'āṣ*) to set for a whole day." This is the only instance where the verb is translated "narrow" (*HALOT* 23). Boling and Wright (1982: 417) translate, "since the hill country of Ephraim is too confining for you," with the explanation, "The argument seems to be that it is the heavily forested condition that made the area too restricted."

17:16 *iron chariots.* The LXX states *epilektos kai sidēros,* "iron and horse."

valley of Jezreel. See the "Notes" to 15:56.

17:17 *house of Joseph.* The Hebrew *bît yôsép* is a shift in identification from the expected *bĕnê yôsēp,* "sons of Joseph." The LXX writes *toise huois iōsēph,* "sons of Joseph."

17:18 *for the hill country . . . and is strong.* The verse contains four *kî* clauses that shift in function between cause and concession: "for (*kî*) the hill country will be yours. Though (*kî*) it is forest, you will clear it and its limit will be your possession, because (*kî*) you will dispossess the Canaanites, even though (*kî*) he possesses an iron chariot and is strong."

because you will dispossess the Canaanites. Noth (1971b: 102) surprisingly inserts a negative (*lô'*), arguing that the sentence has no meaning as a positive assertion.

Composition

The questions involving the composition of Josh 16–17 include the varied and incomplete literature in the border descriptions, the inner-biblical connections to the late Priestly literature in Num 26–36, and the hypothesis of a source document of the twelve-tribe system. The debate is whether the interpreter should begin with inner-biblical comparison to the late Priestly literature in Numbers or with the recovery of a source document of the tribal borders. Source and redaction critics anchor the study of composition in the comparison of Josh 16–17 and Num 26–36; tradition historians concentrate instead on the recovery of a source document of the tribal borders. The divergent approaches influence the view of composition, as well as the evaluation of the literary context and the dating of Josh 16–17.

SOURCE CRITICISM

Source criticism focused on the comparison of Josh 16–17 to the Priestly literature in Numbers and the literary problems surrounding the relationship of Joseph to Ephraim and Manasseh. The aim was to separate the Priestly source from the non-Priestly material, often identified as the J source or JE. Wellhausen (1889: 132–33) provides illustration. The Priestly source included the introduction of Ephraim and Manasseh (16:4), in which Manasseh was understood to be the firstborn (17:1; see Gen 48:5); it also included the description of the borders of Ephraim (16:5–7) and Manasseh (17:1a, 5–6 [partial], 7–8, and perhaps 10a) and a version of the account of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:2–4) from Num 27:1–11. The tribal territory in the Priestly source was likely incomplete; a city list of Ephraim may have been eliminated after the summary statement in 16:8, perhaps under the influence of an anti-Samaritan redaction (1889: 133). The JE literature included the introduction of Joseph (16:1–3); the intermingling of cities between Ephraim, Manasseh, and Asher/Issachar (16:10, 17:9); and the list of unconquered cities (16:10, 17:12). Later additions included the notice of Ephraimite cities in the territory of Manasseh (16:9), perhaps to correspond with the same theme in 17:8–9, and the complaint over land by the sons of Joseph (17:14–18), which may contain a doublet although the confused nature of the episode did not allow for a firm conclusion.

The literary analysis of Wellhausen represents in general the paradigm of source criticism, but it underwent revision. Steuernagel (1923: 271), for example, also sought a source-critical solution to the composition of Josh 16–17, but he questioned the identification of 16:1–3 with J or JE, arguing that 16:1–3 was part of the Priestly source and that the similarity between the southern border of Joseph (16:1–3) and the border of Ephraim (16:5–6a) suggested interdependent composition and not separate sources. He added that the combination of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh in 16:4, identified as the Priestly source, removed the criterion for separating the material into distinct sources. Steuernagel departed further from Wellhausen by emphasizing the role of a post-Priestly redactor, rather than the Priestly source, in the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad (Josh 17:2–6; Num 27) and in the genealogy of Manasseh and Machir (Josh 17:1–2, Num 26:29–34), since the focus on the east side of the Jordan was not part of the Priestly source. Finally, Steuernagel concluded that the listing of unconquered cities in Joshua (16:9, 17:11–13) was not J or JE but an addition based on the similar account in Judg 1:27–29. The source-critical interpretation of Steuernagel, starting with the identification of Priestly literature but then concentrating on post-Priestly composition, anticipates later redaction-critical studies of Josh 16–17.

TRADITION HISTORY

Alt (1953f: 194–95) introduced tradition-historical criteria for interpreting the composition of Josh 13–19, in which the geographical information on the tribes was a distinct type of literature both in form and in content that did not conform to the P or J/JE sources and thus could not be properly evaluated when viewed as an episode within these literary works. The better way to interpret Josh 13–19 was to identify the independent documents used by the writers to describe the tribal territories; these documents had nothing to do with the traditional sources of P and J/JE. Alt identified two source documents in Josh 13–19: The list of place-names originated from the time of King Josiah, when the kingdom of Judah included the northern territory of Benjamin (1953e); and the system of the tribal borders reflected land claims from the premonarchic period (1953f), which influenced all subsequent divisions of the land throughout the monarchic period, including the twelve administrative districts of Solomon in 1 Kgs 4:7–19 (1953g). The list of place-names plays no role in the interpretation of Josh 16–17, since the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh lacked the detailed listing of places as in Judah and Benjamin (see Josh 15 and 18). The system of tribal borders, however, was crucial for interpreting Josh 16–17, according to Alt; it provided the framework into which the author introduced additional geographical details, which created tension with the original source document (1953f: 193–94). The result was the confusion of border information in Josh 16–17, because the author did not "consider it necessary to state where the real possession of the tribes ends and where their mere ownership begins" (1953f: 196, author's translation).

Noth (1935; 1971b: 13–14, 100) anchored his interpretation of Josh 16–17 in the research of Alt, also assuming an ancient border document based on the twelve tribes. He insisted that the study of composition must be confined to the identification of the source document and the changes introduced by editors. Only after this line of research was exhausted could the interpreter explore the relationship of Josh 16–17 to the Priestly literature in Numbers (1971b: 8–9). The original source document of borders, according to Noth, focused on Joseph (16:1–3; parallel in 18:12–13); it was expanded by a process of redaction to include Manasseh (17:1–13; source in 17:7–11) and then Ephraim (16:5–10; source in 16:5b–8a). Commentary on cities and genealogical information was added to account for the additions to the description of Manasseh and Ephraim in the source document, but these additions also created tension with the singular focus on Joseph in the source document. The location of Machir west of the Jordan (17:1–2), for example, was likely in the source document, where Machir represented the population of the entire territory of the sons of Joseph. Thus, the redactor was forced to retain Machir in the text, while also limiting its meaning after the addition of Ephraim, so that Machir came to represent the people outside of Ephraim who live in the territory of Joseph (1971b: 103). The mixing of cities between Ephraim and Manasseh (16:9, 17:9) indicated the later creation of two tribal territories, as compared to the one unified territory of Joseph in the source document (1971b: 102). Redactors also added details to the original borders in the source document, such as extending the border lines westward to the sea (17:9) and eastward to the Jordan (16:7) (1971b: 105). Once the comparison between the source document and editorial additions was completed, Noth explored the influence of Priestly literature from Numbers (daughters of Zelophehad in Josh 17:3–6, Num 27:1–11) and the literature from the book of Judges (unconquered territory in Judg 1:27–29), as well as the inclusion of the independent narrative about the complaint of the sons of Joseph (Josh 17:14–18).

Noth and Alt established the model for subsequent interpretation, displacing the previous emphasis on the identification of the Priestly source in Josh 16–17. The formative role of the document of the tribal boundaries was accepted in general, although there was debate whether it originated in the premonarchic period (e.g., Soggin, 1984: 11–12; Boling and Wright, 1982: 70–71; Hess, 1996: 56–60l) or in the early monarchic period (e.g., Albright, 1925; 1926: 236; Elliger, 1981; Kallai, 1986b: 379–93; Na'aman, 1986: 82–83; Gottwald, 1979: 155–63).

The model came under increasing criticism in the late twentieth century. Many interpreters criticized the early formation of the tribal amphictyonic league as the social condition for a document of the borders of the twelve tribes (see the "Introduction"). Interpreters also reevaluated the antiquity of the districts of Solomon (1 Kgs 4:7–19), which had functioned as an important indicator of the early formation of the twelve-tribe system (Alt, 1953g). Ash (1995), for example, judged the description of the Solomonic districts to be a later work with a complex history of composition (see also Nelson, 2015). Na'aman (2001) reevaluated the evidence and concluded that the Solomonic districts may have originated from the eighth century BCE, but certainly not from the time of Solomon. Interpreters also questioned the tradition-historical priority of Joseph over Ephraim and Manasseh (de Geus, 1976: 70–108), which was central to the hypothesis of Alt and Noth. The lack of clear literary solutions to the border descriptions raised still further questions about whether an early document of the tribal boundaries could be the starting point for interpreting Josh 16–17 (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 267–69; Cortese, 1990: 32–39; Wazana, 2013: 258–62).

Mowinckel provided the most direct criticism, and in the process he also redirected study back to the comparison of Josh 16–17 and the Priestly literature in Numbers. Mowinckel (1946) argued that the hypothesis driving tradition history was too exact, given the ambiguity of the borders in Josh 16–17 with the subtle interplay of realistic geography and an idealized vision of the land; and, more importantly, the hypothesis did not take seriously enough the extensive influence of Priestly tradition throughout the text. In view of this, Mowinckel attributed the composition of Josh 16–17 to a Priestly author in the postexilic period, while also allowing for the influence of oral tradition. Given the setting of the author, the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh was not reflective of the tribal period, or even of the monarchic period; it reflected instead the postexilic setting of the author, when the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh represented the province of Samaria in contrast to the province of Yehud. The author, according to Mowinckel (1946: 32–33), was writing from a Judean point of view critical of Samaria, which accounts for the absence of cities. Few followed Mowinckel's emphasis on oral tradition, but many also began to doubt the central role of an ancient source document in the composition of Josh 16–17. Some acknowledged the hypothesis without strictly following Noth's method of interpretation (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 195–96; Neef, 1995: 147–48; Römer, 2007: 82), while others significantly qualified it (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 267–68) or rejected it altogether (Knauf, 2008: 147–53). In rejecting an ancient source document of the tribal boundaries, Knauf also advanced the thesis of Mowinckel that Josh 16–17 be read in the context of the Samaritan and Judean division of land in the postexilic period.

REDACTION CRITICISM

Redaction criticism intensified the focus on the literary relationship between Josh 13–19 and Num 26–36 as the starting point for interpreting composition, thus further emphasizing the late composition of both bodies of literature. But redaction criticism also differs from source criticism that sought to identify the ending of the Priestly source in Josh 13–19 (e.g., Guillaume, 2009; Blenkinsopp, 1976; Lohfink, 1978). Redaction criticism identifies Num 26–36 and Josh 13–19 as independent bodies of literature that undergo an "interlocking" history of composition and revision (Frevel, 2013a: 71), which raises new questions about literary interdependency, the direction of literary influence, and the date of the composition of both Num 26–36 and Josh 13–21.

Auld (1980: 59–60) argued that an early form of the book of Numbers ended with the announcement of Moses's death (Num 27) and that the theme of land distribution in Num 26–36 was an appendix to the book that originated in the postexilic period under the influence of a version of Josh 13–21. The history of composition was not simply one directional from Joshua to Numbers, however, which can be illustrated in Josh 16–17. The original version of Josh 16–17 was limited in focus to the tribal territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, which is the starting point for literary and text-critical comparison to Num 26–36 and Judg 1. But Auld also detected mutual influence among Num 26–36, Josh 13–21, and Judg 1 in the redactional history and in the text-critical formation of Josh 16–17, which led to the inclusion of the principle of the lot in 17:14, 17 (2008: 56); the identification of the half-tribe of Manasseh in 17:5 (2008: 57); the inclusion of Joseph with Ephraim and Manasseh in 16:1–3 and 17:14–18 (2008: 59–61); and the listing of unconquered territory in 16:10 and 17:11–13 (1980: 64–65, 67). Thus, although an early form of Josh 13–21 was the starting point for the theme of land and the source for the formation of the literature in Num 26–36, the history of composition included a process of mutual influence that also included Judg 1 (1980: 104–20).

Achenbach (2003: 557–628) narrowed the redaction-historical composition of Num 26–36 and Josh 13–21 more precisely to the fourth century BCE as the product of several post-Priestly theocratic revisions, which created the many inner-biblical ties between Num 26–36 and Josh 13–21 (e.g., southern border of the land, Num 34:1–2/Josh 13:2–6; 15:1–4, 12; inheritance of the nine and one-half and two and one-half tribes, Num 34:13–15/Josh 14:1–5; the list of leaders, Num 34:16–29/Josh 14:1, 18:1, 19:51, 21:1, 22:13; the Levitical cities, Num 35:1–8/Josh 21:1–42; and so forth) (2003: 582). Although the focus of Achenbach's research is on the formation of Num 26–36, not Josh 13–21, the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:1–11/Josh 17:1–6) illustrates the shared composition of the two bodies of literature through a process of redaction. He concluded that the establishment of a law of female inheritance in Num 27:1–11 and of its fulfillment in Josh 17:1–6 was a single redaction intended to thematize the authority of the Mosaic Torah for land inheritance in the postexilic period (2003: 567–71). The further account in Num 36 was a later addition to qualify the law (2003: 571–73).

Gass (2019: 163–79, 190–213) related the composition of Num 26–36 and Josh 13–19 even more closely by arguing that a version of Josh 13–19 functioned originally as an appendix to Numbers, rather than as the second half of the book of Joshua. The change in literary context was tied to the function of the book of Joshua in creating a Hexateuch by combining the central themes from Deuteronomy and the Priestly literature: Josh 1–12 was tied to Deuteronomy and may even represent an early version of the conquest (DtrL), while Josh 13–19 was oriented to the Priestly literature on land possession in Num 26–36. The function of Joshua to create a Hexateuch provides the framework for tracing the composition of Josh 16–17. The core material in Josh 16–17 focused only on Ephraim (16:5b–8; 17:1b [part], 7b, 9a, b*b*, 10a, 15 [part], 16 [part]), and it was part of a Priestly source document of seven tribes (i.e., Judah, Ephraim, Benjamin, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali). The Priestly document originally functioned as the appendix to the book of Numbers, before undergoing several revisions: Joseph (16:1–3) and Manasseh (17:1 [part], 2, 3–6a, 7a, 8, 9 [part], 10b [part]) were included on the basis of the influence of Num 26 and 33; Deuteronomistic editors added 17:14–18 when the account of land distribution was transferred from Numbers to the book of Joshua; late Priestly redactors included further material on Machir (17:1 [part], 3 [part], 5 [part]) to create literary ties to Num 32; and finally the motif of unconquered territory (16:10, 17:11–13) was introduced under the influence of Judg 1 (Gass 2019: 287–97).

SUMMARY

The history of research allows for several general conclusions about composition that provide the starting point for more detailed interpretation in the "Comments." First, Josh 16–17 is not based on an ancient document of tribal borders. The rejection of a premonarchic amphictyonic league, coupled with research on the late development of pan-Israelite identity as twelve tribes, does not support the hypothesis of Alt (1953f, 1953e, 1953b) and Noth (1930, 1971b). The tribal boundaries of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh are a composition by the author, developed within the larger conception of the twelve-tribe system in the book of Joshua.

Second, the emphasis on pan-Israelite identity as the twelve tribes throughout the conquest (Josh 1–12) and the division of land (Josh 13–21) also argues against a Priestly source document of seven tribes that undergoes a series of revisions to reach the number twelve, as argued, for example, by Gass (2019). Third, Josh 16–17 includes source material to describe the borders of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Past research has demonstrated close and sustained literary ties between Josh 16–17 and late Priestly literature in Num 26–36. The author builds on the tradition of the tribal description of the land from Ezekiel and from late Priestly literature in Numbers to compose the account of the territory of the sons of Joseph, divided into the tribal regions of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17).

Joshua 16–17 undergoes a history of composition, but it is not based on the combination of Joseph with Ephraim and Manasseh, as was assumed in the source criticism of Wellhausen or in the redaction criticism of Auld (1980) and Gass (2019). Steuernagel (1923: 270–77) clarified the problem of this approach when he noted that the combination of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh was already present in the so-called Priestly literature in Josh 16–17 (e.g., 16:4) and therefore could not function as a criterion for identifying the history of composition. The original composition of Josh 16–17 includes Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh in a complex geographical relationship with porous borders. The author of Joshua is writing in the tradition of tribal pan-Israelite identity and tribal land distribution evident in Ezekiel and in the late Priestly literature of Numbers, where the same combination of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh is also evident. When Ezekiel introduces the twelve-tribe system as the basis of land distribution, he states that Joseph must receive two portions (47:13), which provides the background for the detailed description in Josh 16–17. In the late Priestly literature of Numbers, the same development is evident. The naming of the tribal leaders from the "sons of Joseph" includes both Elishama son of Ammihud from Ephraim and Gamaliel son of Pedahzur from Manasseh (Num 1:10); while in the second census the descendants of Manasseh (Num 26:29–34) and of Ephraim (26:35–37a) are also framed by references to the sons of Joseph (26:28, 37b) to underscore the complex relationship between Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh.

The inner-biblical connections among Ezekiel, Numbers, and Joshua with the same combination of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh indicate that the author of Josh 16–17 is dependent on the tradition of tribal pan-Israelite identity, while also developing the tradition further. The author constructs tribal borders and overlapping locations to describe the territorial claims of the sons of Joseph as one region that encompasses the area of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Mowinckel (1946), Achenbach (2003), and Knauf (2008) identified the region of Joseph as the territory of Samaria in the postexilic period. The aim of the author, however, is not to fashion an anti-Samaritan polemic, as assumed already by Wellhausen (1889) and repeated in subsequent research (e.g., Mowinckel, 1946: 32–33; Knauf, 2008: 149). The distribution of land at Gilgal (14:6) establishes the core southern (Judah, Josh 15) and northern (Joseph, Ephraim, Manasseh, Josh 16–17) tribal territories west of the Jordan, which represent the postexilic districts of Samaria and Yehud. All of the subsequent divisions of the tribal land at Shiloh (Josh 18–19) are undertaken in relation to these two core territories.

The revision of Josh 16–17 includes the insertion of Eleazar as leader along with Joshua in the claim to land by the daughters of Zelophehad (17:4). The insertion of Eleazar into the story of the daughters of Zelophehad is part of the larger revision of the book of Joshua that includes the priestly characters of Eleazar and Phinehas, as well as the lay leaders identified as the "heads of the families of the tribes" (see the "Composition" to Josh 14). The episode of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:1–6) is based on their initial claim to land (Num 27:1–11); the connection is made explicit in the statement of the daughters, "Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance in the midst of our brothers" (17:4). In Num 27, the claim to land is presented to Moses, Eleazar, the leaders identified as "chiefs" (*nĕśîʾîm*), and the entire congregation (*kōl-hāʿēdâ*). The judicial process takes place at the door of the Tent of Meeting (27:2). Upon first reading, it appears that the author of Joshua has simply incorporated the same characters (with Joshua replacing Moses) when the daughters present their claim to Eleazar, Joshua, and the leaders identified as "chiefs" (*nĕśîʾîm*) (17:4). But comparison clarifies how extensively the author has revised the genealogy of the daughters (17:1–3; see the "Comments"), and the same is true with the characters and the setting of the story (17:4). In Joshua, the claim to land does not take place before the Tent of Meeting, nor is the "entire congregation" part of the judicial process. The placement of Eleazar in the initial position of leaders, prior to Joshua and the chiefs, also departs from the order of the characters in Num 27:2, suggesting its late insertion in Josh 17:4 to accentuate priestly leadership in the adjudication of the land claims of the daughters of Zelophehad. The original form likely included Joshua, since he arbitrates the allotment of the land in Josh 13–19, and perhaps also the "chiefs," since they function as leaders at other points in the book, most notably in making a rash oath with the Gibeonites (9:18, 19, 21; see the "Comments" to Josh 9) and in adjudicating the conflict over the altar with the eastern tribes (22:14, 30, 32; see the "Comments" to Josh 22).

There are also three insertions of the conquest motif in Josh 16–17 based on material from Judg 1: Ephraim not driving the Canaanites from Gezer (16:10) repeats Judg 1:29; Manasseh failing to drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean, Ibleam, Dor, En-dor, Taanach, Megiddo, and Naphath but instead enslaving them (17:11–13) repeats Judg 1:27–28 (with the exception of En-dor and Naphath); and Joseph's complaint about iron chariots (17:16–18) repeats the same problem of conquest faced by Judah in Judg 1:19. Auld (1980: 61, 110–15) rightly identified the theme of the incomplete conquest of Ephraim (16:10) and of Manasseh (17:11–13) as additions to Joshua from Judg 1; the incomplete conquest of Ephraim is stated in Judg 1:29 and of Manasseh in Judg 1:27. The theme of the incomplete conquest is part of a larger revision of the book of Joshua, described by Smend (1987) as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN). The motif is evident already in the opening of the book where the conditional covenant is introduced (1:7–9), and it reappears at the outset of the distribution of land with the description of the remaining unconquered land (13:1b–6). The unconquered territory of Ephraim (16:10) and of Manasseh (17:11–13) is a continuation of the same revision to the book of Joshua, which culminates in Joshua's summary speech about the danger posed by the remaining indigenous nations (Josh 23).

The motif of the incomplete conquest is also added to the closing exchange between Joshua and the sons of Joseph, who require more land (e.g., Fritz, 1994: 176–77; Farber, 2017: 51–55; Gass, 2019: 287–89). The addition is evident in the juxtaposition of two conflicting motifs: the need for the sons of Joseph to clear the forest in order to enlarge their land (17:14–15, 17–18a) and the command that they conquer the remaining Canaanites (17:16, 18b). In the original form of the exchange, the sons of Joseph state that they are a great people and that the single lot was too small for them: "Why did you give me an inheritance of one lot and one division?" (17:14a). The solution is that they clear the forest: "There will not be one lot for you, for the hill country will be yours. Though it is forest, you will clear it. And its limit will be your possession" (17:17–18a; also 17:15). The addition introduces the theme of conquest (17:16, 18b). The sons of Joseph state that the lack of sufficient land is the result of the Canaanites who remain in the land and possess iron chariots (17:16). The solution of Joshua is that they will conquer the Canaanites, even though they have iron chariots (17:18b). As is the case in the addition to Ephraim (16:10) and to Manasseh (17:11–13), the motif of conquest repeats material from Judg 1. In the case of the sons of Joseph, however, there is a reinterpretation, in which the original focus on Judah conquering the Canaanites (Judg 1:19) is transferred to the sons of Joseph (Josh 17:16, 18a).

Joshua 16–17 continues to undergo revision in the textual versions. Comparison between the MT and the LXX in the "Notes" indicated that the central role of the lot for land distribution in the MT is absent in the LXX (16:1, 17:1). Differences also continue in the genealogy of Zelophehad (17:3–5) and in the border descriptions of the sons of Joseph (16:1–3), Ephraim (16:5–9) and Manasseh (17:7–10). The accounts of unconquered territory indicate further points of contrast. For example, Ephraim's inability to conquer Gezer in the MT (16:10) is qualified in the LXX with the historical addition of 1 Kgs 9:16 that Pharaoh conquered the city and actually gave it to Solomon; while the forested area in the hill country of Ephraim identified as a possession of Manasseh (17:15) in the LXX is the territory of the Perizzites and the Rephaim in the MT.

Comments

The literary design of land distribution throughout Josh 13–19 aids in the interpretation of the sons of Joseph as Ephraim and Manasseh in Josh 16–17. Joshua does not distribute all of the land west of the Jordan at Gilgal (compare Assis, 2003). The distribution of land takes place at three different locations in Josh 13–19: Moses allocates land to Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh east of the Jordan River (Josh 13); Joshua distributes land to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) at Gilgal; and the allocation of land to the remaining seven tribes (Josh 18–19) takes place at Shiloh (Seleznev, 2005: 342). The changing locations underscore that Gilgal is the most important location for land distribution west of the Jordan; it is where Joshua (14:1) allocates the core western territory, progressing from the south to the north, which results in the establishment of the two primary groups: the southern tribe of Judah (Josh 14–15) and the northern sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17). This strategy is repeated in the procedure for land distribution east of the Jordan, where the progression also moves from the southern tribe of Reuben to Gad and to the half-tribe of Manasseh. The allocation of territory to the tribe of Judah and to the sons of Joseph is also influential in the distribution of land at Shiloh, where the seven remaining tribes mark out different frontier areas that divide and surround the two central territories of Judah and Joseph (see the "Comments" to Josh 18 and 19).

The strategy of land distribution from south to north continues within Josh 16–17, so that once again the southern territory of Ephraim (16:5–10) precedes the northern region of Manasseh (17:1–13). The author's strategy clarifies that the initial position of Ephraim is not the result of the reversal of tribal order with Manasseh because of the history of composition (e.g., Noth, 1971b: 101–2; Cortese, 1990: 64; Gass, 2019: 178–79, 208–13); rather, it is the result of literary design—the territory of Ephraim is south and Manasseh, north. The author confirms as much by stating the primacy of Manasseh as the "firstborn of Joseph" (17:1). Manasseh remains the central focus of the author throughout Josh 16–17; its territory includes the account of the inheritance rights of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:1–6), the clarification of Manasseh's division into twelve sections, and the detailed description of its porous borders, especially in the north, suggesting the potential for expansion (17:7–11).

Joshua 16–17 contains two types of tribal borders that function differently. One is internal to the sons of Joseph. These borders are fragmentary in separating Ephraim (16:5b–8) and Manasseh (17:7–9), which clarifies their close relationship and interdependence in the larger territory of the sons of Joseph. The other border is intertribal; it emphasizes the larger region of the sons of Joseph, focusing in particular on the southern border (16:1–3), which repeats part of the northern border of Benjamin (18:12–13). This border is not fragmentary, but complete; the function is to demarcate the intertribal border between the sons of Joseph and the tribe of Benjamin. Both sets of borders require further interpretation.

The borders of Ephraim and Manasseh are fragmentary and interdependent. The author sketches the border of Ephraim (16:5b–8) in several disconnected sections. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears five times (16:5 [twice], 6 [twice], 8). The first occurrence introduces the "region" of Ephraim, "this is the region" (16:5a). The second is used in the extremities formula, "from the east of Ataroth-addar until upper Beth-horon" (16:5b), most likely to describe the southernmost region of Ephraim; the two locations may also be a section of the southern border. The final three occurrences describe two fragments of the northern border of Ephraim, one from Michmethath moving east (16:6–7) and the other from Tappuah moving west (16:8). The introduction of Michmethath (16:6a) may designate the northern extent of Ephraim ("toward Michmethath from the north"). But Michmethath also provides the starting point for tracing the northern border eastward through Taanath-shiloh and Janoah (16:6b–7a), before it turns south through Ataroth (= Ataroth-addar?) and Naarah to Jericho and the Jordan River (16:7b). The author then changes direction in an unconnected manner to describe the northern border of Ephraim proceeding westward, from Tappuah along the Wadi Kanah to the sea (16:8). The author employs the Hebrew *gĕbûl* six times (17:7 [twice], 8, 9 [twice], 10). The initial occurrence introduces the north-south reach of Manasseh "from Asher to Michmethath," while underscoring that West Manasseh includes Shechem (17:7a). The border moves south from Michmethath to the Ephraimite city of Tappuah (17:8), before progressing westward south of the Wadi Kanah (17:9) to the sea (17:10).

The partial description of the borders of Ephraim and Manasseh indicates a concentration on the eastern border of Ephraim (Michmethath, Ataroth, Naarah, Jericho, and the Jordan River) and on the western border of Manasseh (Michmethath, Tappuah, Wadi Kanah, the sea), which repeats locations from Ephraim. In evaluating the geographical background, Na'aman (1986: 145–66) argued that the two descriptions are meant to complement each other in providing a more complete interpretation of the overall borders of Ephraim and Manasseh. As a literary technique, the effect underscores the interdependence of Ephraim and Manasseh in making up the region of the sons of Joseph. The intermixing of cities between Ephraim (16:9) and Manasseh (16:8, 9, 10) further reinforces their interdependence.

The description of the territory of the sons of Joseph is confined to the southern border (16:1–3); the northern border is open, perhaps to indicate future expansion—note the extensive list of cities in Issachar and Asher that belong to Manasseh (17:11). The southern extent of the sons of Joseph is designated with a clearly defined border, even though the word *gĕbûl* is absent. The border extends westward from the Jordan, near Jericho (16:1), and terminates at the sea (16:3); it progresses through Bethel, Luz(?), Ataroth, lower Beth-horon, and Gezer (16:2–3). The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears three times (16:2, 3 [twice]) as an extremities formula to clarify the edge of the border in relationship to the "regions" of the Archites, Japhletites, and lower Beth-horon. The southern border of the sons of Joseph repeats five locations from Benjamin's northern border (18:12–13), including Jordan, Jericho, Bethel, Ataroth/Ataroth-addar(?), and lower Beth-horon. The repetition indicates that the aim of the author is to create a clear border between the sons of Joseph (16:1–3) and Benjamin (18:12–13), in the same way that the author separated Judah (15:5b–11) and Benjamin (18:15–19). The result of the literary strategy is the clear division of land at Gilgal between the northern sons of Joseph (16:1–17:14) and the southern tribe of Judah (15:1–63), with a frontier zone between the two territories, which will be attributed to Benjamin in the subsequent allotment at Shiloh (18:11–28).

EPHRAIM AS TERRITORY AND TRIBE

Ephraim, *'eprayim,* is not originally a term of identity for a person or a group; it is a geographical term, as indicated by its ending in Hebrew, *-ayim.* Ephraim may mean "region" or "pastureland," as in the Akkadian *appāru* (*HALOT* 81). The geographical meaning of Ephraim is evident in the location of a battle of David's soldiers east of the Jordan at "the forest of Ephraim" (2 Sam 18:6). The most common geographical designation for Ephraim, however, is "the hill country of Ephraim," which signifies a large region on the west side of the Jordan River extending from Bethel in the south into the Jezreel Valley in the north (Herrmann, 1981: 553; Dever, 2017: 66–67). The hill country of Ephraim far exceeds the limits of the land allotted to the tribe of Ephraim in the book of Joshua (Finkelstein, 1988). The hill country of Ephraim is the setting for many of the stories of the judges, including Ehud (Judg 3:27), Deborah (Judg 4:5), and Gideon (Judg 7:24), as well as the sequence of events that culminates in the tribal war against Benjamin (e.g., Judg 17:1, 8; 18:2, 13; 19:1, 16, 18); and for many stories of the kings, including Saul (1 Sam 9:4, 14:22), David (2 Sam 20:21), and Jeroboam (1 Kgs 12:25). But the territory is also used to define the identity of the people who live in the hill country of Ephraim, as in the opening to the book of Samuel: "There was a certain man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite from the hill country of Ephraim, whose name was Elkanah son of Jeroham son of Elihu son of Tohu son of Zuph, an Ephraimite" (1 Sam 1:1).

The use of the hill country of Ephraim to identify a social group likely occurred early in Israelite tradition, as is evident in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:1–31), which many researchers judge to be a poem from the outset of the monarchic period or perhaps even earlier (see the "Introduction"). The Song of Deborah recounts a battle in the central hill country west of the Jordan, and it includes a description of the different groups who assist Deborah and Barak (5:12–18). Ephraim is listed first: "From Ephraim they set out into the valley" (5:12). Ephraim in this instance likely designates a territory (de Geus, 1976: 111), but it also identifies a social group that can be contrasted to Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, and so forth (Sparks, 1998: 114–15). The Song of Deborah demonstrates the dynamic relationship between geographical environment and population in creating identity; it illustrates that Ephraim may mean both a place and a people. The poem includes minimal language of social formation or identity. Benjamin and Zebulun are described as a "people" (5:14, 18), Zebulun carries the "lieutenant's scepter" (5:14), Machir has "commanders" (5:15), Issachar has "chiefs" (5:15), and Reuben has "divisions" (5:16). It is noteworthy that none of the groups, including Ephraim, is identified as a "tribe" (*šēbet*).

The hill country of Ephraim and the identity of its population undergo transformation with the rise of the monarchy. The hill country of Ephraim is the geographical setting of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (e.g., 1 Kgs 12:25, 2 Kgs 5:22), which influences the meaning of Ephraim. For example, the northern prophet Hosea repeatedly identifies the Northern Kingdom as Ephraim: "Ephraim has surrounded me with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit" (Hos 12:1; see also 7:8, 11; 12:2, 9; and so forth). Isaiah of Jerusalem echoes the prophet Hosea (e.g., Isa 9:21; 17:3; 28:1, 3), extending the imagery to include Samaria, the capital city of the Northern Kingdom, as a metonym for Ephraim, as in the phrase "Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria" (Isa 9:9). The prophetic literature once again illustrates the dynamic relationship between geographical environment and population in creating identity; in so doing, it also demonstrates how the meaning of Ephraim changes to represent the political structure of the Northern Kingdom of Israel with its capital city of Samaria. The linking of the Northern Kingdom with the hill country of Ephraim lingers even after the downfall of Israel, as is evident in the eschatological discourse of Jeremiah: "I will restore Israel to its pasture, and it shall feed on Carmel and in Bashan, and on the hills of Ephraim and in Gilead its hunger shall be satisfied" (50:19).

The book of Joshua also refers to the hill country of Ephraim as a broad geographical area west of the Jordan. Joshua is given the city of Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim (19:50). Joshua and Eleazar are both buried at different locations in the hill country of Ephraim (24:30, 33). Twice the city of Shechem is located in the hill country of Ephraim (20:7, 21:20). The varied locations indicate that the hill country of Ephraim exceeds individual tribal borders in the book of Joshua: Timnath-serah may be in the tribal area of Ephraim, Gibeah is in the area of Benjamin, and Shechem is in Manasseh. These references correspond in general to the territory of the Northern Kingdom, but the book of Joshua provides no indication of this. In its place, the author introduces an innovation in geographical description by identifying the hill country of Ephraim as the territory of the "sons of Joseph."

Joshua states to the sons of Joseph that they are a great people and that "the hill country of Ephraim is too narrow" for them, thus identifying this region as their possession (17:15). The designation of Joseph as "sons" (14:4; 17:14, 16; 18:11) and as a "house" (17:17, 18:5) clarifies that Joseph is not a tribe in the book of Joshua (Hawk, 2000: 204; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 267), so that their possession of the hill country of Ephraim is also not a tribal holding. The author clarifies this by stating the territory of the sons of Joseph actually constitutes the two tribal allotments of Ephraim and Manasseh, which creates the complex relationship between the sons of Joseph and the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. The dynamic interaction between geographical environment and population allows the author to define the relationship spatially, especially through their porous borders and shared land as the sons of Joseph. Even though the two tribes occupy only a portion of the territory of the sons of Joseph (14:4, 16:8, 17:1), the shared environment of the hill country of Ephraim holds Ephraim and Manasseh together, while also drawing them into the larger identity of the sons of Joseph. The relationship among Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh provides the background for interpreting the meaning of the tribe of Ephraim in the book of Joshua as both a place and a people. The land of Ephraim (16:5–8) becomes restricted in Joshua, especially when compared with the monarchic period. It is also significantly smaller than the territory of Manasseh (17:7–10); Ephraim stretches from Beth-horon in the south to Michmethath in the north, and from the sea in the west to Taanath-shiloh and Jericho in the east. The new description of the land of Ephraim is accompanied by a redefinition of its population as constituting a "tribe" (16:8) made up of "families" (16:5, 8).

The division of Joseph's territory into the tribal allotments of Ephraim and Manasseh relates Joshua to the pentateuchal story of Joseph and his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen 37–50). The Joseph story most likely represents the experience of the diaspora (Meinhold, 1975, 1976; Römer, 2015; Schmid, 2002; Kratz, 2005: 279) told from a northern point of view (Blum and Weingart, 2017: 515; Bergsma, 2019: 291–93). The northern perspective is evident in the characters; the two sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin, and the two children of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, represent the northern territory that constitutes the hill country of Ephraim. The birth of Joseph's two sons is recounted in Gen 41:50–52; it establishes the order of birth, stating that Manasseh is the firstborn and that Ephraim is the second. The topic of Joseph's sons returns when Joseph presents Manasseh and Ephraim to Jacob for a blessing in Gen 48:1–22. Two themes are established in the account of Jacob's blessing. The first is that Manasseh and Ephraim acquire inheritance rights as though they were sons of Jacob, rather than grandsons. Jacob states to Joseph, "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine, just as Reuben and Simeon are" (Gen 48:5). The second theme is the reversal of the status of the two sons, when Jacob blesses "Ephraim ahead of Manasseh" (48:20), in spite of the objection of Joseph (48:18).

The author of Joshua follows the first theme of inheritance (Gen 48:5) by distributing the land possession of the sons of Joseph between the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, who now inherit in the same manner as Jacob's other sons. But the author does not develop the second theme of reversal (48:20). The initial position of Ephraim in the land distribution of Josh 16–17 is the result of the literary design of progressing from south to north; it does not signify the primacy of Ephraim over Manasseh. The author of Joshua emphasizes the importance of Manasseh over Ephraim in the distribution of land. The territory of Ephraim is smaller than that of Manasseh; E. F. Campbell (1984: 71) adds that the borderline between the two tribes tends to favor Manasseh with regard to fertile land "probably in the Taanath-Shiloh region, certainly in the vale itself and at Tappuah." Manasseh is also designated as "the firstborn of Joseph" (17:1). But the emphasis on the firstborn status of Manasseh does not appear to be inheritance, since both tribes inherit land within the territory of the sons of Joseph. The focus is rather on status. The central place of worship at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem (8:30–35) is in Manasseh (17:7), not Ephraim, as it is in Chronicles (1 Chr 7:28). The tribal territory of Manasseh also receives more detailed commentary by the author, including the genealogy of Manasseh, the legislation on inheritance law in Manasseh, and the apportionment of Manasseh's territory into twelve sections. The author also singles out Manasseh in 22:6–7 as the tribe that distributes the war booty of precious metals kept at the central sanctuary.

WEST MANASSEH

Daughters of Zelophehad

The distribution of land to West Manasseh is based on the concept of two half-tribes, one east of the Jordan and the other west (Gass, 2019: 180). The division of Manasseh sets the stage for examining the problem of land claims west of the Jordan River, when the members of the tribe are related genealogically but separated geographically. The theme is addressed in the claim of the daughters of Zelophehad for western land, even though they live east of the Jordan River (17:1–6). Comparison with Numbers indicates that Josh 17:1–6 is an inner-biblical interpretation of two texts: the original demand for inheritance (Num 27:1–11) and the identity of the daughters of Zelophehad from the second census (Num 26:28–34). The reinterpretation of the two texts allows the author to demonstrate the influence of Mosaic legislation in the land claims of the half-tribe of Manasseh, who are separated geographically but related genealogically, mirroring the relationship of the diaspora and the homeland populations in the postexilic period.

The author based the demand of the daughters of Zelophehad for land in part on the past ruling of Moses in Num 27:1–11, where the request for inheritance was based solely on genealogy. In Numbers, the daughters stated to Moses: "Why should the name of our father be taken away from his clan because he had no son? Give us a possession among our father's brothers" (27:4). Moses granted the request: "You shall indeed let them possess an inheritance among their father's brothers and pass the inheritance of their father on to them" (27:7). The ruling focuses on genealogy, marriage, and inheritance rights and not on the specific territory that the daughters of Zelophehad would inherit. The additional clarification that inheritance may be transferred through daughters, or, if necessary, also through brothers, father's brothers, and the nearest kinsman, underscores the emphasis on genealogy (27:8–11). The same focus on genealogy continues in the qualification of the ruling in Num 36:1–12, which states that daughters of any tribe who inherit property must marry within "the clan of her father's tribes" (36:8). The author of Joshua repeats the emphasis on genealogy in the daughters' statement to Joshua: "Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance in the midst of our brothers" (Josh 17:4), which Joshua executes, giving them "an inheritance in the midst of the brothers of their father" (17:4b). The focus on genealogy, however, does not exhaust the intent of the author of Joshua, which is signaled by the motif of the lot (17:1, 2) and by the identification of the daughters of Zelophehad as five districts in West Manasseh (17:5).

The focus on the land is achieved by the reinterpretation of the genealogy of Manasseh in Num 26:28–34. The genealogy of Manasseh focused on family relationships, not territory; it included an extensive genealogy from Joseph to the daughters of Zelophehad divided into two parts: Manasseh (26:28–29) and Gilead (26:30–33). Each section begins with an introduction: "The descendants of Manasseh"/"These are the descendants of Gilead" (vv. 28, 30). In part one, the genealogy of Manasseh (26:28–29) includes three generations: (1) Manasseh, (2) Machir, and (3) Gilead. In part two, the genealogy of Gilead (26:30–33) includes seven offspring: (1) Jezer, (2) Helek, (3) Asriel, (4) Shechem, (5) Shemida, (6) Hepher, and (7) Zelophehad. The absence of male heirs is introduced with Zelophehad, who has five daughters: (1) Mahlah, (2) Noah, (3) Hoglah, (4) Milcah, and (5) Tirzah. The focus throughout Num 26:28–34 is on genealogical relationships, not geography. The author of Joshua reinterprets both sections of the genealogy in Josh 17:1–2 to emphasize the territory of Manasseh: 17:1 targets the first section (Num 26:28–29), and 17:2, the second (Num 26:30–33). The reinterpretation introduces a series of tensions between the two texts that have long been noted by researchers (see Gass, 2019: 180–213).

Joshua 17:1 is a reinterpretation of the genealogy of Manasseh in Num 26:28–29; it repeats the three generations of Manasseh, Machir, and Gilead. But the introduction of the motif of the lot indicates the emphasis is on territory over genealogy: "The lot was for the tribe of Manasseh" (17:1a). The focus on land prompts two contrasts to Numbers: (1) Gilead is identified as an eastern region along with Bashan in addition to his role as ancestor. The identification of Gilead and Bashan as regions east of the Jordan allows for the clarification of the allotment of the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh: "The division of Manasseh fell into ten beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which is across the Jordan" (17:5; see 13:29–31, where Gilead is further divided with Gad). (2) Machir is the point of focus: "To Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, were Gilead and Bashan" (17:1). The focus on Machir identifies the daughters of Zelophehad with the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh (17:3). But the territory of Machir is more expansive in the book of Joshua than simply the eastern territory of Gilead and Bashan. During the distribution of land to the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh, the author stated that Machir, like Manasseh, consisted of two half-tribes, one east of the Jordan and the other west (13:29–31). Nelson (1997: 174) clarifies: "[T]he expression 'half of the children of Machir' indicates that elements of this major clan were also present west of the Jordan" and "this interest in the details of Manassehite clan structure is picked up again in 17:1–3." The interpretation of Machir in Joshua as two half-tribes means that, although the daughters of Zelophehad are members of the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh, they are entitled to land claims in the western half, where Machir also resides. This is the innovation of the author of Joshua in the reinterpretation of the first section of the genealogy of Manasseh (Num 26:28–29). The daughters of Zelophehad bridge the eastern and western halves of Manasseh.

Joshua 17:2 is a reinterpretation of Gilead from the second part of the census of Manasseh (Num 26:30–33); it continues the shift in focus from genealogy to territory. In Numbers, the genealogy of Gilead included seven offspring, listed in a genealogy without a focus on land: "These are the descendants of Gilead: of Iezer, the clan of the Iezerites; of Helek, the clan of the Helekites; and of Asriel, the clan of the Asrielites; and of Shechem, the clan of the Shechemites; and of Shemida, the clan of the Shemidaites; and of Hepher, the clan of the Hepherites" (26:31–32). The introduction of the motif of the lot in Josh 17:2 once again signals the author's interest in land over genealogy: "And the lot was to the remaining sons of Manasseh" (17:2a). The motif of the lot introduces a series of contrasts to the parent text (Num 26:30–33). Manasseh, rather than Gilead, becomes the father of Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida, thus detaching these offspring from Gilead and relating them instead in a segmented genealogy as brothers of Machir. The motif of "the remaining sons of Manasseh" separates the relatives geographically from the eastern territories of Gilead and Bashan, which belong to Machir (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 277–78; Hawk, 2000: 207; Nelson, 1997: 201). The author further identifies the descendants of Manasseh as males, adding that they comprise five districts of the western region of Manasseh (17:5). The identification of the male offspring of Manasseh as five western districts encourages a similar geographical reading of the five female daughters of Zelophehad, who "received an inheritance in the midst of his sons" (17:6; see also the Samaria Ostraca). The author adds that "the land of Gilead" belonged to "the remaining sons of Manasseh," meaning Machir, residing in the eastern half of Manasseh.

Manasseh is central to the author of Joshua; it is unique among the twelve tribes. Only Manasseh is explored as two half-tribes. The concept of the two half-tribes of Manasseh allows the author to examine the contrast between homeland and diaspora, when the members of the same tribe are related genealogically within the same tribe but separated geographically. The author addresses the problem through inner-biblical interpretation of the daughters of Zelophehad from Numbers, reinterpreting gender within genealogy into male and female districts within the western region of Manasseh. The equal division of male and female territories underscores the right of all members of the tribe of Manasseh to inherit western land, while the total of twelve districts underscores the unity of the members of the two half-tribes of Manasseh, whether they reside east or west of the Jordan River. The result, according to Albertz (2007: 199–201), is that the land commission in Num 27:1–11 becomes geographically concrete in Josh 17:1–6. Finally, the districting of Manasseh also provides the counterweight to the districts of Judah.

The inclusion of genealogy in the distribution of the tribal land is unique to the account of West Manasseh. Judah (15:1–63), Joseph (16:1–4, 17:14–18), and Ephraim (16:5–10) focus exclusively on land; the genealogy of each tribe is absent. Even the demand of Caleb for a portion of Judah's land (15:13–19) is based on the past promise of Moses without genealogical claim, since he is a Kenizzite in Joshua (14:6, 14), as compared to his identity as a Judahite in Numbers (13:6, 34:19) and in Chronicles (1 Chr 4:15). Whether the intermixing of genealogy and geographical land claims is restricted to Manasseh or meant to be applied to all of the tribes remains unclear. The invitation of all eastern tribal members to take possession of land west of the Jordan in the confrontation over the altar (22:19) may indicate the right of anyone in the diaspora to claim land in the western homeland. But there are differences between the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh and Reuben and Gad. The separation between homeland and diaspora in the claim of the daughters of Zelophehad is within the same tribe, and the text emphasizes that the eastern daughters of Zelophehad have legal claim to land. Reuben and Gad are not divided tribes, and they have no legal claim to land west of the Jordan. In Josh 22 they are simply invited to settle west of the river.

The concept of the two half-tribes of Manasseh is central to Joshua; it occurs nineteen times throughout the book (see the "Comments" to Josh 13). Joshua is in contrast with the Pentateuch, where the concept of the half-tribes of Manasseh occurs only four times, as late additions in Numbers (32:33, 34:14) and in Deuteronomy (3:13, 29:8). Manasseh emerges as the most complex of the twelve tribes in the book of Joshua: It comprises land east and west of the Jordan; it contains the central cultic site of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem; and it is separated into twelve districts. The special status of the two-half tribes of Manasseh returns in Josh 22, where West Manasseh is once again singled out from the other tribes as stewards of the wealth from the conquest stored at the central sanctuary (22:7–8).

Territory of West Manasseh

The territory of West Manasseh (17:7–11) is both fragmentary and porous; it is sketched out (17:7) from the north (Asher) to the south (En-tappuah of Ephraim). The remaining description emphasizes that West Manasseh is intertwined with Ephraim to the south (17:8–10) and with Issachar and Asher to the north (17:11). Both descriptions are obscure. With regard to Ephraim: Tappuah belonged to Ephraim, while its surrounding land was in the possession of West Manasseh (19:8); the further description of the remaining distribution of cities between the two tribes is missing (19:9–10a). With regard to Issachar and Asher, none of the seven northern cities listed as possessions of West Manasseh (Beth-shean, Ibleam, Dor, En-dor, Taanach, Megiddo, Naphath; 19:11) appears in the regional descriptions of Issachar and Asher. The literary ambiguity suggests that the aim of the author is not geographical precision; rather, it is to link West Manasseh both to Ephraim in the south and to Issachar and Asher in the north. The geographical relationships to the neighboring tribes are different: West Manasseh is intertwined with Ephraim in making up the territory of the sons of Joseph; in contrast to this, West Manasseh penetrates the northern frontier regions of Asher and Issachar, suggesting that the full extent of its northern territory is not yet clearly defined. This is confirmed by Joshua in 17:14–18.

JOSEPH

The tradition-historical background of Joseph is unclear. Noth (1930: 36–37, 41–42) considered the emergence of Joseph to be early within the tradition history of the tribes, when the Leah and Rachel groups represented the primary social structure of ancient Israel, with the focus on Joseph and Judah. According to Noth, the house of Joseph always included more than one tribe, and the early tribal amphictyonic league at Shechem likely also originated with the house of Joseph, under the leadership of Joshua (1930: 67–71). But de Geus (1976: 72–96) challenged the tradition-historical research of Noth. He argued just the reverse—that the emergence of the house of Joseph in relationship to Manasseh and Ephraim was a later development and that the function of Joseph was to create contrast to Judah.

In the book of Joshua, the sons of Joseph include the tribes of West Manasseh and Ephraim, while the territory of the sons of Joseph provides the counterbalance to the tribe of Judah. The interpretation of the sons of Joseph is part of the emerging tradition of the tribes in the exilic and postexilic periods. The identification of Joseph as encompassing the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim (16:1, 17:17) appears in late Priestly texts in Numbers (e.g., 1:10, 26:28) and in Ezekiel (47:13). The contrast between Joseph and Judah is most evident in the exilic writing of Ezekiel (37:19), and it continues into the postexilic book of Chronicles (1 Chr 5:1). Joshua contains the same contrast; twice the function of the territory of Benjamin is described as providing a frontier in which "Judah will remain on its territory from the south, and the house of Joseph will remain on their territory from the north" (18:5, see also v. 11).

The sons of Joseph play a prominent role in Josh 16–17, framing (16:1–4, 17:14–18) the distribution of land to Ephraim (16:5–10) and West Manasseh (17:1–13) and thus drawing the two tribes together into a larger shared identity within one northern region, representing the area of Samaria in the postexilic period. The prominence of the sons of Joseph is evident in Joshua's interaction with them. The first speech of Joshua in the second half of the book is directed to the sons of Joseph (17:15, 17–18a). In responding to their complaint about limited land, Joshua highlights their importance, stating, "You are a great people, possessing great power" (17:17). The closing portrait of the northern region of the sons of Joseph is one of an open-ended, porous territory, divided between the tribes of Ephraim and West Manasseh, all of which is too small an area for such a "great people" (17:17).

SUMMARY

The distribution of land to Judah (Josh 14–15) and to Joseph (Josh 16–17) is at the center of the description of the tribal regions. The section is marked out with its own introduction in 14:1–5, followed by the notice that the distribution of land takes place at Gilgal (14:6).

The allocation of land to the southern tribe of Judah (Josh 15) and to the northern sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) is described differently. Joshua 15 includes an overabundance of geographical information from the source document of place-names (15:20–62), coupled with a precise description of Judah's borders (15:1–12). Joshua 16–17, by contrast, lacks place-names, while the borders of Ephraim (16:5–10) and West Manasseh (17:7–11) are intermingled and only partially described. Although the description of the borders is significantly different for Judah and for the sons of Joseph, in each case the author clearly outlines the borders of Benjamin, often repeating the same locations. The author presents detailed information on Judah's northern border (15:5b–11), separating Judah from the territory of Benjamin (18:15–19) and from the city of Jerusalem (15:8; 18:16, 28). The same clear demarcation of tribal territory is also evident in the description of the southern border of the sons of Joseph (16:1–3), when the author repeats five locations from Benjamin's northern border (18:12–13)—Jordan, Jericho, Bethel, Ataroth/Ataroth-addar(?), and lower Beth-horon—before extending the borderline of Joseph westward through Gezer and to the sea (16:3b). The precision of Joseph's southern border is all the more striking, since it is the only border information that the author supplies for the sons of Joseph. The result is that the territories of the sons of Joseph and the tribe of Judah are clearly separated from each other, with the region of Benjamin representing the borderland between them.

Benjamin (18:1–28)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 18 signals a transition in the book of Joshua from Gilgal to Shiloh. The distribution of land at Gilgal (Josh 14–17) outlined the central territories of the tribe of Judah (Josh 14–15) and of the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17). The distribution of land at Shiloh (Josh 18–19) focuses on the frontier areas surrounding Judah and Joseph. The allotment at Shiloh contains a new introduction (18:1–10), followed by the distribution of land to the remaining seven tribes. Benjamin is the frontier region between Judah and Joseph (18:11–28). The allotment to the remaining six tribes (Josh 19) describes the southern (Simeon), western (Dan), and northern (Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali) frontier areas. Joshua 18 may be outlined in the following manner.

1. Lot at Shiloh (18:1–10)
    A. Tent of Meeting (18:1)
    B. Instruction About Survey to All Israel (18:2–7)
    C. Instruction About Survey to Tribal Representatives (18:8–9)
    D. Lot (18:10)
2. Lot of Benjamin (18:11–28)
    A. Borders (18:11–20)
        (1) Benjamin, Judah, and Joseph (18:11)
        (2) North (18:12–13)
        (3) West (18:14)
        (4) South (18:15–19)
        (5) East (18:20)
    B. Cities (18:21–28)

Translation

18:1–10. LOT AT SHILOH

18 [1]And all the congregation of the Israelites were gathered at Shiloh. And they set up the Tent of Meeting there. And the land was subdued before them.

[2]There remained among the Israelites, who did not receive their inheritance, seven tribes. [3]And Joshua said to the Israelites, "How long will you be lax to enter and to take possession of the land, which Yahweh, the God of your fathers, has given to you? [4]Provide for yourselves three men from each tribe, so that I may send them out. And they will go up and walk through the land. And they will write a description of it with a view toward their inheritance. Then they will come to me. [5]And they will divide it into seven portions. Judah will remain on its territory from the south, and the house of Joseph will remain on their territory from the north. [6]But you will write a description of the land into seven portions. And you will bring it here to me. And I will cast a lot here for you before Yahweh our God. [7]For there is no portion for Levi in your midst, because the priesthood of Yahweh is his inheritance; while Gad, Reuben, and the half-tribe of Manasseh took their inheritance from across the Jordan eastward, which Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave to them."

[8]And the men rose up and they went out. And Joshua commanded those going out to write a description of the land, saying, "Go and walk through the land and write a description of it, and return to me, so that I may cast a lot for you here before Yahweh at Shiloh." [9]And the men went and they crossed the land and they wrote a description in a book according to cities for seven portions. And they returned to Joshua to the camp of Shiloh.

[10]And Joshua cast for them a lot at Shiloh before Yahweh. And Joshua divided there the land for the Israelites according to their portions.

18:11–28. LOT OF BENJAMIN

18 [11]The lot came up for the tribe of Benjamin according to their families. The region of their lot went out between the sons of Judah and the sons of Joseph.

[12]And the border to them on the north side was from the Jordan. And the border ascended to the shoulder of Jericho from the north. And it ascended into the hill country westward. And its limit was in the wilderness of Beth-aven. [13]And from there the border crosses toward Luz to the shoulder of Luz to the south (that is, Bethel). And the border descends to Ataroth-addar on the highland, which is south of lower Beth-horon.

[14]And the border changes direction and turns toward the western side, south of the highland, opposite of Beth-horon to the south. Its limit is Kiriath-baal (that is, Kiriath-jearim), a city of the sons of Judah. This is the western side.

[15]And the south side is from the edge of Kiriath-jearim and the border goes out to the west. And it goes out to the spring of the waters of Nephtoah. [16]And the border descends to the edge of the mountain that is opposite the valley of the Son-of-Hinnom, which is in the valley of the Rephaim toward the south. And it descends the valley of Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusites to the south, and it descends En-rogel. [17]And it changes direction from the north and it goes to En-shemesh and out to Geliloth, which is opposite the ascent of Adummim. And it descends to the Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son. [18]And it crosses to the shoulder opposite the Arabah to the north. And it descends toward the Arabah. [19]And the border crosses to the shoulder of Beth-hoglah to the north. And the limit of the border is the northern tongue of the Salt Sea at the southern edge of the Jordan. This is the southern border.

[20]And the Jordan creates its border on the eastern side. This is the inheritance of the sons of Benjamin according to its surrounding borders and its families.

[21]And the cities belonging to the tribe of Benjamin according to their families were: Jericho, Beth-hoglah, Emek-keziz, [22]Beth-arabah, Zemaraim, Bethel, [23]Avvim, Parah, Ophrah, [24]Chephar-ammoni, Ophni, and Geba—twelve cities and their villages.

[25]Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, [26]Mizpeh, Chephirah, Mozah, [27]Rekem, Irpeel, Taralah, [28]Zela, Haeleph, Jebus (that is, Jerusalem), Gibeath, and Kiriath-jearim—fourteen cities and their villages.

Notes

The instruction to the tribes (18:1–10) in the MT differs from that in the LXX. In the MT, 18:3b–7 is a single speech, where the focus remains on the division of the land. The speech begins with Joshua motivating the tribes to complete the inheritance (v. 3b) before commanding the Israelites to select representatives to survey the land (v. 4a). The speech continues with Joshua instructing all the Israelites about what their representatives must do in surveying the land (18:4b–5a). The LXX accentuates the role of the representatives by fashioning 18:3–7 into two speeches (vv. 3b–4a and 5b–7), separated by a narrative about the representatives and Joshua (vv. 4b–5a). The first speech is the same as the MT. The LXX departs from the MT in vv. 4b–5a by changing the speech of Joshua into historical narrative: "And they (the representatives) went before him (Joshua). And he divided them into seven parts" (vv. 4b–5a). The LXX places more emphasis on the representatives and their organization, while it also introduces the new motif that the representatives were organized into seven units. It is unclear whether the LXX is the result of textual corruption or intentional literary change. The absence of a clear introduction to the second speech of Joshua in vv. 5b–7 suggests textual corruption; yet the differences may indicate a distinct interpretation, in which the representatives and their organization have taken on more significance in the LXX than in the MT.

The MT and the LXX also diverge in the use of geography in 18:11–28. The differences are similar to the kinds of contrasts that appear in the description of the territory of Judah (Josh 15) and of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17). Examples include topographical descriptions in the MT that appear in the LXX as specific place-names (e.g., the MT "wilderness of Beth-aven," and the LXX Madbaritis Baithon; 18:12). There are also locations that appear only in the MT (e.g., valley of Rephaim; 18:16) or in the LXX (Gaienna; 18:16). The order of the cities and even the versification diverge in 18:26–28, especially in the LXXB. Single place-names in the MT appear as two locations in the LXX (e.g., MT Adami-nekeb, and LXX Armai and Nakeb).

18:1 *all the congregation.* The Hebrew *kōl-ʿădat bĕnê-yiśrāʾēl* conveys the gathering of the entire people; the term *ʿēdâ*, "congregation," designates a national, legal, and cultic community. The term is the most prominent description for the Israelites in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch (more than one hundred occurrences in Exodus–Numbers). The LXX conveys the same focus on "all Israel," translating *sunagōgē huiōn israēl.*

Shiloh. The Hebrew *šilōh* means "the irrigated place" (Noth, 1971b: 150). Shiloh is identified with contemporary Khirbet Seilun, a site approximately nineteen miles north of Jerusalem in the tribal region of Ephraim. Judges 21:19 retains a detailed geographical description of its location "north of Bethel, on the east of the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem, and south of Lebonah." Shiloh occurs eight times in the MT of the book of Joshua (18:1, 8, 9, 10; 19:51; 21:2; 22:9, 12) and nine times in the LXX version (18:1, 8, 10; 19:51; 21:2; 22:9, 12; 24:1, 25); Shiloh is absent in the LXX description of the return of the surveyors (18:9), but it is the setting for the covenant ceremony (24:1, 25), which is set in Shechem in the MT. Taanath-shiloh (16:6) is a distinct location (Jericke, 2020: 11). The role of Shiloh in ancient Israelite tradition is ambiguous. References to it provide a window into its function as a northern cultic center that was destroyed (Finkelstein, 2015b: 381–82). The early cultic function of Shiloh is evident in its association with the house of Eli and Samuel (e.g., 1 Sam 1:3, 9; 2:14; 3:21 [twice]; 4:3, 4, 12; and 14:3) and the prophet Ahijah (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:29; 12:15; 14:2, 4; see also the reference in Judg 21:12); while Ps 78:60 and Jeremiah (e.g., 7:12, 14; 26:6, 9) describe its destruction (see Jericke, 2020: 15–19). Shiloh is identified in Joshua with the Tent of Meeting and the distribution of land to seven of the tribes (18:1, 8, 9, 10; 19:51); it is also the setting for the selection of the Levitical cities (21:2) and for the dismissal of the tribes to their homes east of the Jordan (22:9, 12). See the "Comments" to Josh 18.

set up the Tent of Meeting there. The Hebrew *wayyaškînû šām* is unusual for describing the pitching of a tent. One would expect instead the verb *nāṭâ,* "to extend, pitch (a tent)." The root *škn* is the technical term in Priestly tradition for the desert sanctuary, the "tabernacle," *miškan* (e.g., Exod 25:1–7). The verb *šākan* in the Hiphil appears only one other time with the Tent of Meeting (Ps 78:60), which describes Yahweh's rejection of the tabernacle: "he (Yahweh) abandoned his tabernacle (*miškan*) at Shiloh, the tent (*ʾōhel*) where he dwelled (*šikkēn*) among mortals." De Vos (2009: 63) concluded that the unusual use of the verb is meant to convey the presence of Yahweh. De Vos (2003: 193, 272; 2009: 63) also emphasized the cultic background of the phrase as an indirect reference that Joshua's casting of the lot is taking place before the Deity, which also indicates a degree of holiness in the land (compare Gass, 2019: 83). The particle "there," *šām,* emphasizes the location of Shiloh for the pitching of the Tent of Meeting. The LXX severs the literary relationship to the Priestly tabernacle, translating *epēxan,* "to put up, fasten."

Tent of Meeting. The Hebrew *ʾōhel môʿēd* is the non-Priestly description of the desert sanctuary in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 33:7; Num 11:16, 12:4; Deut 21:14), which is also frequently associated with the tabernacle in Priestly literature (e.g., Exod 27:21, 28:43, 29:4, and so forth).

And the land was subdued before them. The Hebrew verb *kābaš* in the Niphal means to "subdue" a land, as in Num 32:22, *wĕnikbĕšâ hāʾāreṣ lipnê yhwh,* "and the land was subdued before Yahweh." U. Neumann-Gorsolke (2009: 84) underscored that the Niphal of *kābaš* does not convey military imagery but means "a movement of the feet: 'to step upon (land)' or 'to set foot on (the land),'" as in the Akkadian *kabāsu.* The LXX translates "and the land was subdued by them (*hupo autōn*)," accentuating the agency of Israel with the preposition *hupo* in combination with the passive form of the verb *ekratēthē.* The Niphal form of *kābaš* to indicate the subduing of the land, *ʾereṣ,* is unusual. The Qal form normally indicates the subduing of people or nations, which results in their slave status (e.g., Jer 34:16, Amos 8:4, Neh 5:5, 2 Chr 28:10). The phrase in Josh 18:2 may be an inner-biblical reference to the Priestly creation story in Gen 1:28, when the Deity blesses humans and commands them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth (*hāʾāreṣ*) and subdue it (*wĕkibšūha*)," where the verb is in the Qal form (Boorer, 2011: 117; de Vos, 2003: 194–95). The LXX weakens the inner-biblical relationship with distinct verbs, translating Josh 18:1 with the verb *krateō,* and Gen 1:28, *katakurieuō.* Van der Meer (2006: 60) concludes that the Greek use of *krateō* was meant "to express the idea of complete domination of the land."

There remained among the Israelites . . . seven tribes. The Hebrew *binnê yiśrāʾēl,* "Israelites," indicates the twelve tribes, of which seven "did not divide their land" (*lōʾ-ḥālqû ʾet-naḥălātām*). The LXX states that the seven tribes had not yet inherited, *eklēronomēsan.* See the "Composition" to Josh 18.

18:3 *be lax to enter.* The Hebrew *mitrappîm* as a Hithpael participle means to be slack in undertaking work (see Prov 18:9); it may include lack of courage (Prov 24:10). The Greek translates *ekluō,* meaning "to be exhausted, weary." The LXX lacks the Hebrew "to enter," *lābōʾ.*

to take possession of the land. The Hebrew *lārešet* in the Qal, with *ʾet-hāʾareṣ* as the object, means "to take possession." The Hiphil form of the verb, when used with people or nations, means "to dispossess" (e.g., 8:7, 17:12).

Yahweh, the God of your fathers. The MT *yhwh ʾĕlōhê ʾăbôtêkem* is shortened in the LXX and translated in the Rahlfs edition in the first person, *kurios ho theos hēmōn,* "the Lord, our God."

18:4 *Provide for yourselves three men from each tribe.* The Hebrew *laššābeṭ* translates "to each tribe." The LXX employs the genitive with the preposition *ek,* which expresses separation, *ek phules,* "from a tribe." The focus on the entire nation in v. 1 suggests that the command is for three representatives from each of the twelve tribes.

so that I may send them out. The syntax in the MT is in the imperative, *hābû,* "provide," followed by the first-person imperfect (with cohortative force), *wĕyithallĕkû,* to express purpose or result (*IBHS* 36.6). The LXX changes the syntax from the first person to an aorist plural participle, *anastantes,* "setting out," which refers to the action of the representatives of the tribes, rather than to Joshua.

And they will write a description of it. The Hebrew *wĕyiktĕbû* likely means "to describe," as in the NRSV, "writing a description of it." The LXX writes *diagraphō,* "to describe." Auld (1998: 191) comments: "*diagraphein* is rare in the LXX; only in Ezek. 43:11 does it correspond to *ktb.*"

with a view toward their inheritance. The Hebrew preposition *lĕpî* means "according to, in view of," which is connected to *naḥălātām,* "their inheritance." The LXX departs from the MT, writing *enantion mou,* "before me," resulting in the translation "let them describe it before me." The LXX adds further *katha deēsei dielein autēn,* "as it is necessary to divide it."

Then they will come to me. The LXX changes the sentence from a continuation of the speech of Joshua about what the tribal representatives must do in the future to a narrative transition in which the tribal representatives approach Joshua, *kai ēlthosan pros auton,* "And they came to him."

18:5 *And they will divide it into seven portions.* The MT continues the speech of Joshua, in which he provides further directions to the tribes in general about future actions concerning the distribution of the land. In the LXX the third-person narrative continues from the close of v. 4, *kai dieilen autois hepta meridas,* "he (Joshua) divided for them seven portions." As a result, the focus is narrowed in the LXX to the tribal representatives, who have already returned from surveying the land. The introduction of historical narrative in the LXX creates literary tension with v. 6, where Joshua sends out the representatives. In addition, it is unclear what Joshua actually does in the LXX when he creates seven portions. The LXX also appears to resume the speech of Joshua in v. 5b, although the text lacks a clear transition, such as *eipen,* "he said."

18:8 *to write a description of the land.* The LXX clarifies that the writing of the men was a survey, *chōrobatēsai tēn gēn,* "they surveyed the land." Auld (2005: 192) notes that the literal meaning of the Greek verb is "to pace the land" and that it is a technical term for surveying that appears only in this text.

18:9 *to the camp of Shiloh.* The LXX lacks the reference to the camp and the location of Shiloh.

18:10 *And Joshua divided there the land for the Israelites according to their portions.* The sentence is absent in the LXX. De Vos (2009: 64) detects a pun or indirect reference "not to the division of the land but to the sections of temple personnel," based on the use of *ḥlq,* "division," to designate temple personnel in 1 Chr 23–27.

18:12 *Jordan.* See the "Notes" to 1:4.

shoulder of Jericho. The Hebrew *ketep* means "shoulder"; the LXX translates *nōtou,* "back, ridge." The motif occurs throughout Joshua (e.g., 7:5; 10:11, 40; 12:3, 8; 13:20; 15:8, 10, 11), but it is concentrated in the description of Benjamin (e.g., 18:12, 13, 16, 18, 19) to describe not only Jericho, but also Luz (Bethel), Jebusites, Beth-arabah, and Beth-hoglah. Jericke (2020: 232) identified a literary strategy in the use of *ketep,* in which the author is avoiding precise borders.

hill country. The Hebrew *hāhār* is translated in the LXX *to horos.* The term "hill country" is often linked with more specific locations, such as the hill country of Ephraim (e.g., 17:15, 19:50). Jericke (2020: 49–50) concluded that the reference to "hill country" without a determining proper noun tends to refer to the region south of Jerusalem and an area north of Bethel.

the wilderness of Beth-aven. See the "Notes" to 7:2.

18:13 *toward Luz.* See the "Notes" to 16:2. The LXX translates *louza,* "Louza."

Bethel. See the "Notes" to 7:2.

Ataroth-addar. See the "Notes" to 16:2.

Beth-horon. See the "Notes" to 10:10.

18:14 *Kiriath-baal.* See the "Notes" to 15:60.

Kiriath-jearim. See the "Notes" to 9:17.

18:15 *the waters of Nephtoah.* See the "Notes" to 15:9. The LXX adds the location *gasin,* "Gasin."

18:16 *the valley of the Son-of-Hinnom.* See the "Notes" to 15:8.

the valley of the Rephaim. See the "Notes" to 15:8.

Jebusites. See the "Notes" to 10:1.

En-rogel. See the "Notes" to 15:7.

18:17 *En-shemesh.* See the "Notes" to 15:9.

Geliloth. The Hebrew *gēlîlôt* derives from *gll,* meaning "to roll." The Hebrew *gēlîlâ* can mean "district," as is the case in 13:2. The term occurs only once as a place-name to mark the southern border of Benjamin (18:17); it does not repeat in the description of Judah's northern border. See the discussion in Jericke (2020: 185–91).

Adummim. See the "Notes" to 15:7.

Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son. See the "Notes" to 15:6.

18:18 *Arabah.* See the "Notes" to 8:14. I translate the Hebrew *mûl* as "opposite." The alternative is to include the word in the place-name *Mul-arabah* (Butler, 2014a: 153). The LXX goes in yet another direction, translating *baitharaba,* "Baitharaba," which suggests the Hebrew *bêt-hāʿărābâ,* "Beth-arabah."

18:19 *Beth-hoglah.* See the "Notes" to 15:6.

Salt Sea. See the "Notes" to 3:16.

18:21 *Emek-keziz.* The Hebrew *ʿemēq qēṣîṣ* occurs once as a place-name within the region of Benjamin.

18:22 *Beth-arabah.* See the "Notes" to 15:6.

Zemaraim. The Hebrew *ṣemārayim* means "double peak." The location occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, once as a city in Benjamin (18:22) and a second time as a mountain in Ephraim (2 Chr 13:4). The Greek translates 18:22 as *sara* (LXXB) and *semrim* (LXXA). Historical geographers debate whether the two occurrences refer to the same or to different locations. Cross and Wright (1956: 222–23) argue for the same location, noting that part of Ephraim was annexed to Judah in the victory of Abijah over Jeroboam I, while Noth (1971b: 111–12) looks to the expansion of Josiah.

18:23 *Avvim.* See the "Notes" to 13:3.

Parah. The Hebrew *pārâ* means "fruitful." The location occurs once as a place-name in Benjamin (18:23), which historical geographers associate with Tell Fara (compare, however, Kallai, 1986b: 401).

Ophrah. The Hebrew *ʿōprâ* means "dusty place." The location occurs once in Joshua as a place name in Benjamin (18:23). Outside of the book of Joshua, Ophrah is also the residence of Gideon (Judg 6:11–23, 8:27–32, 9:5), where it is a location in Manasseh, rather than in Benjamin.

18:24 *Chephar-ammoni, Ophni, and Geba—twelve cities and their villages.* The LXX departs from the MT, listing four cities in the LXXB (Karapha, Kephira, Moni, and Gabaa) and three cities in the LXXA (Aikaren, Kaphe-rammin, and Gabaa). The LXX has the place-name Aikaren (LXXA) and Karapha (LXXB) instead of the MT Ophni. The LXXB also separates the one place-name, Chephar-ammoni, in the MT into two place-names, Kephira and Moni. All the textual traditions agree, however, that there are twelve cities.

Chephar-ammoni. The Hebrew *kēpar hāʿammōnî* means "Ammonite village." The location occurs once in the Hebrew Bible as a city in Benjamin (18:24).

Ophni. The Hebrew *ʿōpnî* occurs once as a place-name within Benjamin in 18:24. The location is absent in the LXX.

Geba. See the "Notes" to 15:57.

18:25 *Gibeon.* See the "Notes" to 9:3.

Ramah. See the "Notes" to 13:26.

Beeroth. See the "Notes" to 9:17.

18:26–28 *Mizpeh . . . and their villages.* The order of cities and the versification between the MT and the LXX vary in vv. 26–28. The MT and the LXXA correspond closely to each other, with the exception of Haeleph in v. 28, which results in the distinct number of cities, with fourteen in the MT and thirteen in the LXXA. The LXXB varies in the names and in the order of the cities, although its total number is also thirteen, as in the LXXA. The number fourteen in the MT may be the result of identifying Zela and Haeleph as two locations rather than one, *ṣēlaʿ hāʾelep,* "ox rib," which would bring the MT into conformity with the number thirteen in the LXXA and LXXB. The LXX further supports this reading, since the Hebrew *hāʾelep,* "the ox," is absent from both versions.

18:26 *Mizpeh.* See the "Notes" to 11:3.

Chephirah. See the "Notes" to 9:17.

Mozah. The Hebrew *mōṣâ* means "press." The location occurs once as a place-name within the region of Benjamin in 18:26.

18:27 *Rekem.* The Hebrew *reqem* may mean "to weave." The place-name occurs once as a location in Benjamin (18:27).

Irpeel. The Hebrew *yirpĕʾēl* means "El heals." The place-name occurs once as a location in Benjamin (18:27).

Taralah. The Hebrew *tarʾălâ* occurs once as a place-name within Benjamin (18:27).

18:28 *Zela.* The Hebrew *sēlaʿ* means "rib." The location appears twice in the Hebrew Bible, once as a city in Benjamin (18:28) and a second time as the burial site of Saul (2 Sam 21:14).

Haeleph. The Hebrew *hāʾelep* means "ox." The word may be part of the compound place-name "Zela-ha-eleph," or it may designate a distinct location in Benjamin. It is absent in the LXX.

Jerusalem. See the "Notes" to 10:1.

Gibeath. See the "Notes" to 15:57.

Composition

The research on the composition of Josh 18 may be divided between the introduction (18:1–10) and the region of Benjamin (18:11–28). The introduction raises questions about literary unity, narrative context, and the function of Shiloh; the section on the region of Benjamin returns to the topic of whether the author of Joshua employed source documents in describing the tribal territory.

INTRODUCTION

Interpreters have long debated the literary context of 18:1–10; many judged its present position to be secondary, with its original location at the outset of Josh 13–19. The problem for interpreters is that the detailed account of surveying the land appears to be too late in the process of land distribution. Wellhausen (1889: 131), for example, argued that 18:2–10 was originally connected with 13:1, 7 in the JE narrative. Steuernagel (1923: 277–78) placed 18:1 either before the introduction to the land distribution of Judah (14:1) or before the distribution of land to the eastern tribes (13:15). The problem of literary context was expanded by Wüst (1975: 228–35), who argued that there was

no motive for the present two-part structure of land distribution west of the Jordan, in which Judah (Josh 15) and the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) are allocated land at Gilgal (14:6a*a*), and the seven remaining tribes followed at Shiloh (18:1–10). He, too, argued that the better location for a version of the survey of land (18:1–10) was after the initial introduction (1975: 236; 13:1, 6b), which meant that the original focus was on all Israel rather than the seven tribes and that the setting of Shiloh was originally absent. The purpose for creating the two-part process of allocation, according to Wüst (1975: 237), was to separate Judah and Joseph from the accusation of not having taken possession of their land (18:3), which brought the account of land distribution in Josh 14–19 into conformity with Judg 1.

Various additional proposals for the original literary context of 18:1–10 have been offered (e.g., Seebass, 2006; de Vos, 2009). Gass (2019: 104–5) followed Wüst in concluding that a version of 18:1–10 functioned as the introduction to land distribution in Josh 13–19, but he interpreted the motive for the change in literary context to be the reinterpretation of the seven tribes. The original account of the distribution of land in Josh 13–19 was focused on seven tribes, who represented all Israel; this is reflected in an early version of 18:1–10. The creation of the two-part process of land distribution in Josh 13–19, with the transition of 18:1–10 to its present literary context, was initiated after the formation of the twelve-tribe system; it forced a reinterpretation of the seven tribes in 18:1–10 from representing "all Israel" to defining the seven "remaining tribes," who were distinct from Judah and the sons of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh). The evidence of the reinterpretation still lingers, according to Gass, in the shifting focus within 18:1–10 between "all Israel" (18:2, 3, 10) and the "seven tribes" (18:2, 5, 6, 9), even though Judah and the sons of Joseph are now separated out (18:5).

All proposals about the changing literary context of 18:1–10 assume a complex history of composition. The center of focus in early source criticism was to separate the Priestly source (18:1) from JE (18:2–10). The identification of the Priestly source was based on the motifs of the "congregation of Israel" and the "Tent of Meeting" from the Priestly account of the sanctuary in Exodus (e.g., Exod 25–31, 35–40) and perhaps also the motif of the "subduing of the land" from the Priestly version of creation (e.g., Gen 1:28). The P account contrasted to the JE version (18:2–10), which described the "tribes" with the word *šēbeṭ* (18:3, 4), in contrast to the Priestly term *maṭṭeh.* The source-critical separation allowed interpreters to relocate the Priestly introduction (18:1) before 14:1, with the result that the description of the land as "subdued" (18:1 [before 14:1], 19:51) framed the Priestly version of the division of land (e.g., Wellhausen, 1889: 131–32; Steuernagel, 1923: 277–78).

The further study of the motifs in 18:1–10 eventually forced interpreters to abandon the identification of sources. Although there was overlap in meaning, the use of language in 18:1–10 often departed from pentateuchal sources. For example, while the description of the land as subdued (*kābaš,* Niphal) related to the Priestly creation story (*kābaš,* Qal; Gen 1:28), its closer parallels were in the late Priestly account of Moses's instruction to the eastern tribes (Num 32:22, 29), where twice the land is described as subdued (*kābaš,* Niphal); the only other occurrence of the Niphal of *kābaš* is 1 Chr 22:18, where David concludes a speech stating, "the land is subdued before Yahweh and before his people" (e.g., Cortese, 1990: 94–100; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 289;

Gass, 2019: 84–85; Boorer, 2011: 117; Neumann-Gorsolke, 84–85). The reference to the Tent of Meeting (18:1) has a strong connection to Priestly literature, but Auld (1980: 63) noted that the verb *šākan* (Hiphil) to describe the pitching of the Tent of Meeting is absent in Priestly literature and virtually unique in the Hebrew Bible.

The motifs in 18:1–10 even depart from late Priestly literature in Num 26. The repeated use of the verb *ḥālaq* to describe the division of the land (18:2, 5, 10) provides an example. This verb appears to link 18:1–10 to the late Priestly account of land division at the conclusion of the second census (Num 26:52–56), yet comparison underscores difference. The repeated use of *ḥālaq* in the Niphal in Num 26:53–56 (26:53, 55, 56) contrasts with Josh 18:1–10, where the Niphal is absent and the verb appears instead in the Qal (18:2), Hithpael (18:5), and Piel (18:10). The comparisons indicate the influence of Priestly literature in the composition of 18:1–10, but with distinctive usage. In addition, the text also includes Deuteronomistic motifs like the word *šebeṭ* for "tribe" (18:2), along with Priestly language for the cult in 18:1. The difference between 18:1–10 and the pentateuchal literature is underscored further by motifs that are unique to 18:1–10, such as the writing down of the survey (18:4, 6, 8, 9) or the description of the tribes as lax (18:9, 24:10, *rāpâ,* Hithpael; also in Proverbs). Cortese (1990: 94) expressed the conclusion of many interpreters, when he stated that 18:1–10 demonstrated a mixing of Deuteronomistic and late or post-Priestly language that does not correspond to pentateuchal sources (see, among others, de Vos, 2003: 185–207; 2009; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 287–92).

The late composition of 18:1–10 with its lack of correspondence to the pentateuchal literature shifted the criteria for evaluating composition to individual motifs within the narrative. Many interpreters judged the motifs of the lot (18:6, 8, 10), the Tent of Meeting (18:1), the setting of Shiloh (18:1, 8, 9, 10), the identification of Judah and Joseph (18:5), and the eastern tribes and the Levites (18:7) to be later additions to a core narrative. Wüst (1975: 228–40) identified the original narrative as including the admonition of Joshua about the lax character of the tribes (18:3), along his instruction to send out three men from each tribe to survey the land (18:4, 8), which is fulfilled (18:9, 10b). Others also identify a similar core narrative (e.g., Fritz, 1994: 177–81; Cortese, 1990: 94–101; de Vos, 2003: 185–207; Gass, 2019: 82–117) that underwent revisions with motifs such as the lot, the Tent of Meeting, or the setting of Shiloh (compare Seebass, 2006, and van der Meer, 2012, who include the location of Shiloh in the original version). The result is an unusually wide variety of solutions to the history of composition.

H. N. Rösel (2011: 291) cautioned against the approach of composition based on the evaluation of individual motifs. He noted that the narrative is certainly not streamlined in style. There is a shift in focus between "all Israel" (18:1, 2, 10) and the seven tribes (18:2, 5, 6), along with repetitions in the instructions of Joshua (18:4–5a, 6), the notice of the men going out to survey the land (18:8b, 9a), and the additional information on the inheritance of the previous tribes (18:5, 7). But literary style alone is not a sign of later redaction, especially when we note that the original composition is late and that the same style is evident in the previous introduction (14:1–5). Furthermore, the identification of details such as Shiloh (18:1, 8, 9, 10) or the lot (18:6, 8, 10) as late additions runs counter to their prominent role not only in 18:1–10, but in the larger design of the book of Joshua. Nelson (1997: 209) reinforced the caution of Rösel, stating that the structure of 18:1–10 follows a coherent narrative arc, including the setting of Shiloh (18:1), the problem of incomplete inheritance (18:2), the plan for resolution stated to all Israel (18:3–7), the instruction to the surveyors (18:8), the execution of the plan (18:9), and the resolution (18:10). As a result, 18:1–10 appears to be "designed precisely and exclusively for its present literary context" (1997: 208).

The interpretation of 18:1–10 as a composition intended for its present narrative context is reinforced when the three introductions in Josh 13–19 are read together (see also the "Introduction" and Josh 14). The three introductions include, first, 13:1a, 7; second, 14:1a, 2–5; and third, 18:1–10. They share motifs that support the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity in the book of Joshua, such as the inheritance by lot (14:2; 18:6, 10), the nine and one-half western tribes (13:7, 14:2), the separation of the sons of Joseph into the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (14:4, 18:5), the remaining seven western tribes (18:2, 5), the two and one-half eastern tribes (14:3, 18:7), and the lack of inheritance to the Levites (14:3, 18:7). The introductions also progress in the development of motifs throughout Josh 13–19. The first introduction (13:1a, 7) is the divine speech to Joshua to divide (*ḥālaq,* Piel) the western land among the nine and one-half tribes; this introduction presupposes the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity. The second (14:1a, 2–5) and third (18:1–10) introductions also presuppose the twelve-tribe system in narrating the fulfillment of the divine command at the distinct locations of Gilgal (14:1–5) and Shiloh (18:1–10). Joshua 14:1a, 2–5 continues the theme of dividing (*ḥālaq,* Qal) the land among "the nine and one-half western tribes" at Gilgal (14:6), where the focus is on Judah (Josh 15) and the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17). Joshua 18:1–10 extends the instruction to divide (*ḥālaq,* 18:2, Qal; 18:5, Hithpael; 18:10, Piel) the land for the seven remaining tribes at Shiloh, while also adding the motif of surveying. I follow the lead of Rösel and Nelson, interpreting 18:1–10 as the composition of one author, who is writing the account of land distribution to the seven remaining western tribes, based on the concept of the twelve-tribe system of pan-Israelite identity. The author's reuse of pentateuchal literature, with the mixing of Priestly and Deuteronomistic motifs, suggests a late composition sometime in the postexilic period. The comparison of the MT and the LXX highlights further variation in the textual versions, which influences the structure of 18:1–10 (esp. vv. 4–5).

SHILOH

Shiloh is debated in the research on the history of composition. Many view Shiloh as having little significance in the book of Joshua, because it is judged to be a late insertion, perhaps displacing Gilgal (e.g., Noth, 1971b: 104; Wüst, 1975: 230; Soggin, 1972: 189; Cortese, 1990: 99) or perhaps being a variant to the reference to the "camp" in 18:9, especially in light of the absence of Shiloh in the LXX (for discussion, see Jericke, 2020: 34–35). De Vos (2009: 62) also interpreted Shiloh as a later addition, but he emphasized its significance as the geographical center of the land west of the Jordan, "where the tent of meeting is pitched and the ritual lots are cast." The frequent references to Yahweh (18:3, 6, 7 [twice], 8, 10) and the emphasis on the casting of lots as taking place "before Yahweh" (18:6, 8, 10) indicate the close relationship between Yahweh and the land, according to de Vos (2009: 71), with the result that Shiloh becomes the sacred center of the land situated between the areas of Judah and the sons of Joseph. But not all agree. Seebass (2006), for example, argued that Shiloh was part of the original text (18:1, 3a, 3ba, 4, 8, 9 [part]) and that it was related to the Priestly account of land distribution in Num 26:52–56. D. G. Schley (1989: 117) also interpreted Shiloh as an original motif in 18:1–10, which signified a "critical development in the history of the settlement for the priestly source" with the establishment of the Tent of Meeting. I too interpret Shiloh as original to 18:1–10.

BORDERS AND CITIES OF BENJAMIN

The central question concerning the composition of the borders of Benjamin (18:11–20) and its list of place-names (18:21–28) is whether the author used source documents. The research of Alt provided the framework for interpretation with his identification of two source documents in Josh 13–19: the list of place-names from the time of King Josiah when the kingdom of Judah included the northern region of Benjamin (1953e), and the system of the tribal borders from the premonarchic period (1953f; see also the "Introduction" and the "Composition" to Josh 15).

The borders of Benjamin (18:11–20) are not based on a source document; they represent the literary design of the author of Joshua, as was also the case in Josh 13, 15–17. The aim of the author is to describe the "borders" of Benjamin, rather than simply the "region." The Hebrew *gĕbûl* occurs ten times (18:11, 12 [twice], 13 [twice], 15, 16, 19 [three times]). The opening reference may be directed to the general region of Benjamin, "the region of their lot" (18:11); all other occurrences describe the northern and southern borders of Benjamin. The borders of Benjamin are closely tied to the territories of Judah and Joseph, so much so that the borders are determined before 18:11–20 in the descriptions of the northern border of Judah (15:5b–11) and of the southern border of the sons of Joseph (16:1–3).

The southern border of Benjamin (18:15–19) and the northern border of Judah (15:5b–11) are described in opposite directions—Benjamin from west to east and Judah from east to west. The change in direction may emphasize that Benjamin does not extend westward to the sea, as is the case with Judah (15:11). Many locations are repeated in each border description: (1) the inlet of the sea/Salt Sea (15:5b, 18:19); (2) Jordan (15:5b, 18:19); (3) Beth-hoglah (15:6, 18:19); (4) Beth-arabah/Arabah (15:6, 18:19); (5) the Stone of Bohan, Reuben's Son (15:6, 18:17); (6) the ascent of Adummim (15:7, 18:17); (7) En-shemesh (15:7, 18:17); (8) En-rogel (15:7, 18:16); (9) the valley of Hinnom (15:8, 18:16); (10) Jebusite territory (15:8, 18:16); (11) the valley of Rephaim (15:8, 18:16); (12) the waters of Nephtoah (15:9, 18:15); and (13) Kiriath-jearim (15:9, 18:15). There are differences: (1) the order of the locations around Jebus (Jerusalem) vary (15:8, 15:16); (2) the northern border of Judah includes the additional sites of Debir, the valley of Achor, and Gilgal (15:7) and the cities of Mount Ephron (15:9); and (3) the southern border of Benjamin includes Geliloth (18:17). The repetition of the same border underscores the separation between Judah and Benjamin, as compared to their unification in the source document.

The northern border of Benjamin (18:12–13) and the southern border of the sons of Joseph (16:1–3) are also nearly identical: (1) Jordan (16:1, 18:12), (2) Jericho (16:1, 18:12), (3) Bethel/Luz (16:1, 2; 18:13), (4) Ataroth/Ataroth-addar (16:2, 18:13), and (5) Beth-horon (16:3, 18:13). The differences include: (1) The southern border of Joseph refers to the border of the Japhletites and to Gezer (16:3), and (2) the northern border of Benjamin refers to the highland and Beth-aven (18:12). The determination of the borders of Benjamin by the adjacent tribal territories indicates the important role of Benjamin as the region that separates the northern sons of Joseph from the southern tribe of Judah; in this role Benjamin functions as a frontier area.

The city list of Benjamin (18:21–28) is based on a source document originally identified by Alt (1953e; see the "Introduction" and the "Composition" to Josh 15). Alt noticed the uneven distribution of the place-names in Josh 15–19. The middle tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16–17) and the more northern tribes (Josh 19) contained minimal information on place-names; the tribes of Judah (15:21–62) and Benjamin (18:21–28), by contrast, contained detailed lists of shared place-names. Alt concluded that the shared place-names indicated that the source document assumed one territory. The repetition of Beth-arabah (15:61, 18:22) and Kiriath-jearim (15:60, 18:28) in each tribal list reinforced the conclusion (1953e: 278). Further repetitions in place-names between Judah (15:21–62), Benjamin (18:21–28), Simeon (19:2–9), and Dan (19:41–46) provided the basis for Alt to conclude that the source document of place-names used by the author of Joshua originally described the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Josiah, when Judah included all of the region of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin as one region, separated into twelve districts (see the "Introduction," "Territoriality in Joshua").

Alt's distribution of the districts is disputed (see, for example, Cross and Wright, 1956: 202–15), but most agree that the place-names in Benjamin (18:21–28) follow the format of Judah, in which place-names are summarized at the conclusion of each section. On this basis, Benjamin constitutes two districts from the source document (e.g., Fritz, 1994: 182–85; Nelson, 1997: 210–15). The twelve place-names in 18:21–24 represent District XI of the source document; many of the names lack identification, yet it is clear that the region includes Jericho (18:21) and extends in a northwest direction to include Bethel (18:22) and Ophrah (18:23). The fourteen place-names in 18:25–28 constitute District X, which includes Jerusalem on the southern border of Benjamin and extends northward to include such cities as Gibeah, Gibeon, Beeroth, and Ramah. Once the source document of place-names is identified, the central literary question is to explain why the author of Joshua separated Benjamin from Judah as a distinct tribal territory, when they functioned as one region in the source document.

Comments

SHILOH AND THE TENT OF MEETING

Shiloh appears for the first time in 18:1, where it is identified as the location of the Tent of Meeting. Shiloh appears throughout the account of the distribution of land by lot to the seven remaining tribes (18:1, 8, 9, 10); it also reappears at the conclusion to the distribution of tribal land (19:51), the outset of the Levitical cities (21:2), and the conflict between the western and eastern tribes (22:9, 12). The interpretation of Shiloh and the Tent of Meeting in Joshua is influenced by two traditions in the Hebrew Bible: the Priestly account of the tabernacle cult in the Pentateuch, and the accounts of the divine abandonment of Shiloh and the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem (e.g., 1 Sam 4:1–7:1, 6:1–19; Ps 78:54–64; Jer 7:12–14, 26:6–9). The meaning of Shiloh and of the Tent of Meeting in Joshua varies depending on how interpreters relate 18:1 to these two traditions.

The author of 18:1 is aware of the cultic theology of the Tent of Meeting from the wilderness traditions of the Pentateuch. Most acknowledge the influence of Priestly literature from the Pentateuch on the introduction of Shiloh (18:1) based on the description of the Israelites as the "congregation" (e.g., Exod 35:1, 4; Lev 4:13), the "gathering" of the people before the Tent of Meeting (e.g., Lev 8:3; Num 8:9, 16:19), and the characterization of the land as subdued (Gen 1:28; Num 32:4, 22). Yet the imagery in 18:1 does not conform to Priestly tradition, especially in the description of the "setting up" (*šākan*) of the Tent of Meeting, where the verb appears in the Hiphil form with Israel as the subject.

The verb *šākan* has a strong connection to the Priestly description of the tabernacle, as well as to the cultic description of divine indwelling in Deuteronomy (Mettinger, 1982). Priestly literature states that "Moses was not able to enter the Tent of Meeting because the cloud settled (*šākan,* Qal) on it and the Kabod Yahweh filled the tabernacle" (Exod 40:34; see also Exod 25:8, 46). In the same manner, Deuteronomy repeatedly describes the presence of the divine "name" as indwelling (*šākan,* Piel) in the sanctuary (e.g., Deut 12:11, 14:23, 16:2). The use of the verb *šākan* to describe the pitching of the Tent of Meeting in 18:1 certainly suggests the imagery of divine indwelling from the Pentateuch; de Vos (2009) even rereads the word "there" (*šām*) as "name" (*šem*) to bring the verse into conformity with the tradition in Deuteronomy: "And they set up 'there/the name' the Tent of Meeting." But the indwelling of the Deity into the Tent of Meeting is not stated in 18:1; in its place the opposite image emerges of the people, not the Deity, "setting up" (*šākan*) the Tent of Meeting. Auld (1980: 63) clarifies the contrast, stating that the verb *šākan* in the Hiphil to describe the action of the Israelites in pitching the Tent of Meeting is absent in Priestly literature and in Deuteronomy; it also contrasts to the pentateuchal cultic traditions in which the Deity is always the subject of the verb *šākan* in the Qal and Piel to indicate the divine indwelling.

The description of the Israelites "setting up" the Tent of Meeting is unique to the book of Joshua. It allows the author to introduce the Tent of Meeting without affirming the cultic theology of either the Priestly literature or of Deuteronomy, in which the Tent of Meeting is the central cultic site for the ark and for the indwelling of the Deity. In the book of Joshua, the ark remains at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem (8:30–35); it does not process farther to Shiloh. The action of the Israelites in setting up the Tent of Meeting at Shiloh is limited to the purpose of casting lots for the remaining seven tribes. The Deity is involved in the casting of lots; three times Joshua states that the casting of lots for land division takes place "before Yahweh" (18:6, 8, 10). But the Tent of Meeting does not become the central cultic site in the book of Joshua, nor does it contain the ark or represent the center of the land. The mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem in the tribal territory of West Manasseh remain the cultic center; it is where the ark dwells, where sacrifices take place on the open-air altar, and where the Torah of Moses is written on uncut stones.

The "setting up" of the Tent of Meeting at Shiloh has a polemical function in the book of Joshua. The use of the Hiphil of *šākan* to describe the pitching of a tent has only one parallel in the Hebrew Bible in Ps 78:55. Psalm 78 is an extended critique of the disobedience of the northern Israelites (78:1–64), which leads to the rejection of the "tent of Joseph" and the "tribe of Ephraim" in favor of the election of the "tribe of Judah" (78:65–72). The failure of the north, identified as Jacob, Israel, and Ephraim (78:1–11), is recounted through an historical review that includes the divine leading in the wilderness and the rebellion of the people (78:21–41); the divine deliverance from Egypt (78:42–53); and the divine gift of the land to the "tribes of Israel," which culminates in the loss of the land and the divine abandonment of Shiloh (78:54–64). The parallel use of *šākan* in the Hiphil to describe the pitching of a tent appears at the outset of the section on the divine gift of the land: "He (Yahweh) drove out nations before them; he apportioned them for a possession and settled (*šākan*) the tribes of Israel in their tents" (78:55). The linking together of Josh 18:1 and Ps 78:55 creates the complementary imagery of Yahweh "settling" (*šākan*) the Israelites in their tents within the promised land (Ps 78:55) and of the Israelites "setting up" (*šākan*) the Tent of Meeting for the Deity to cast lots for distributing the land (Josh 18:1). The interplay suggests that the texts are connected.

The links between Josh 18:1 and Ps 78:54–64 go beyond the use of the verb *šākan* in Ps 78:55 to include the additional reference in Ps 78:60 to the divine tent at Shiloh, which the Deity abandons as a sign of the rejection of the northern Israelites: "[H]e (Yahweh) utterly rejected Israel. He abandoned his dwelling at Shiloh, the tent where he dwelled (*šākan,* Piel) among mortals." The imagery underscores the divine indwelling in the tent at Shiloh, while the divine rejection of Shiloh is accompanied by the election of the tribe of Judah over Joseph and Ephraim (78:67). The same theme of the divine abandonment of Shiloh for Jerusalem appears in the temple sermon of Jeremiah (7:12–14, 26:6–9). The tradition-historical background of the abandonment of Shiloh, however, is likely the legend of the ark at Shiloh (1 Sam 4:1–7:1), first identified by L. Röst (1926). Röst concluded that the legend was intended to explain how the ark left the northern location of Shiloh and became established in Judah at Jerusalem (see A. Campbell, 1975; and the history of research in Eynikel, 2000). All of these accounts exhibit a pro-Judean point of view, in which the divine abandonment of Shiloh is tied to the rejection of the north and the election of Judah. The pitching of the Tent of Meeting at Shiloh in the book of Joshua departs from this tradition, as is evident in the procession of the ark to Mount Ebal near Shechem in Josh 3–8 (see the "Introduction" in *Joshua 1–12* [Dozeman, 2015]).

The multiple points of contact between Josh 18:1 and Ps 78:54–64 suggest that the author of Joshua is aware of the pro-Judean accounts of the rejection of Shiloh and of the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem (for research on the dating and the design of Ps 78, see Carroll, 1971; Day, 1986a; Greenstein, 1990; P. Stern, 1995; Leuchter, 2006; Weingart, 2015). The limited meaning of Shiloh and of the Tent of Meeting in the casting of lots before Yahweh is a counterreading that qualifies the pro-Judean accounts of the divine choice of Jerusalem.

The function of Shiloh in the book of Joshua may be summarized by comparison to Gilgal and Shechem. Gilgal, Shechem, and Shiloh are the three locations where the Israelites observe religious rituals in the book of Joshua (Ballhorn, 2011: 286). Gilgal is the initial location of the Israelite camp west of the Jordan River (4:19–20), signifying the removal of the disgrace of Egypt (5:9). Gilgal is the place where the Israelites reinstitute circumcision (5:8), observe the Passover (5:10), wage war against the indigenous nations (10:6, 9, 15, 43), and allot the land to Judah and to the sons of Joseph (14:6). Gilgal is important in the book of Joshua, but it is not the cultic center. Shiloh is the location where the entire congregation of the Israelites set up the Tent of Meeting (18:1);

it is the place where Joshua allots the land to the remaining seven tribes and where the western tribes gather to prepare for war against the eastern tribes (22:12). Shiloh is also the location for the selection of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities in the Priestly addition to the book of Joshua (Josh 20–21). Shiloh is important in the book of Joshua, but it is not the cultic center. Shechem is the cultic center in the book of Joshua. It is the goal of the procession of the ark into the land (8:30–35), where Joshua builds an open-air altar of uncut stones on Mount Ebal, undertakes sacrifices, and writes a copy of the Torah of Moses and where the Israelites station themselves on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim to receive a blessing. Shechem is where the Israelites also return at the close of the book of Joshua to renew the covenant and to form themselves into an amphictyonic league to Yahweh, the God of Israel (Josh 24; compare Shiloh in the LXX).

BENJAMIN

The most important tribal allotment at Shiloh is that of Benjamin; it is the first tribal region of the seven, and the description of its borders and the list of its place-names are the most detailed. Benjamin is the region through which the ark processes into the western land, making it a liminal frontier between the northern sons of Joseph and the southern tribe of Judah, which neither possesses. The changing role of Benjamin in ancient Israelite tradition provides background for interpreting its unique role in the book of Joshua.

Benjamin has an ambiguous function throughout biblical tradition, both as a people and as a place. Fleming (2012) characterized the ambiguity as one of marginality often embedded in conflict stories between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The unique function of Benjamin is evident in the birth story of the eponymous ancestor, since he is not included in the birth story of the other ancestors (Gen 29:31–30:34). Rather, the birth of Benjamin takes place later at Bethlehem (Gen 35:16–21). Thus, Benjamin represents the only son of Jacob to be born in the promised land. Fleming (2012: 158) raises the question of whether "the odd fact that Benjamin is the only one born in Israel . . . confirm(s) his separate and slightly suspect status as alien to the others"; this is especially evident in the account of the tribal war against Benjamin (Judg 20–21).

The name Benjamin means "son of the right" or "son of the south" (Schunck, 1963: 4–7). Interpreters have explored the possible relationship between an early Israelite group, *bin-yamin,* and the Binu Yamina from the second-millennium Mari archive. Many reject any link between the names because of the distance in time (e.g., Schunck, 1963: 7). T. L. Thompson (1974: 62–66) underscored the geographical meaning of Binu Yamina as "southerners," rather than as a proper name. But Fleming (2012: 146–47) argued that Binu Yamina is a proper name as well as a geographical designation, signifying a contrast in the Mari coalition between the Binu Sim'al, "northerners," and the Binu Yamina, "southerners." He detected a similar contrast in the name Benjamin as the designated region south of Ephraim. In this case, the name "southerner" would not be a self-designation; it would reflect instead an Ephraimite point of view, underscoring the marginal status of Benjamin in relationship to Ephraim, while also indicating the original identification of Benjamin with the northern territory of Ephraim (2012: 145–49).

The northern identity of Benjamin can be detected in a range of literature in the Hebrew Bible. The Song of Deborah likely represents early tradition that associates Benjamin with Ephraim (Judg 5:14). An early version of the story of Joseph (Gen 37–50) reflects a northern point of view, underscoring that Benjamin and Joseph are the only sons of Rachel. The association of Benjamin with the north continues in the story of Ehud (Judg 3:12–30; Davies, 2007: 105). The narrative complex surrounding Saul's rise in leadership (1 Sam 9–15) also suggests an early version that represents northern tradition (e.g., Davies, 2007: 104–6; Fleming, 2012: 149–54), which may even reach back to the birth of Samuel (1 Sam 1) and forward to an early version of the war against Benjamin (Judg 20–21; see Milstein, 2016: 174–206).

The northern identity of Benjamin was overwritten from a southern pro-Judean perspective in the formation of the biblical tradition, especially in the Deuteronomistic History. The southern perspective is evident in the inclusion of David in the Saul complex to underscore the rise of David as the successor of Saul, with Jerusalem as the central city (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2001: 259–85). Na'aman (2009a, 2009b) concluded that the land of Benjamin was always part of the territory of Jerusalem, rather than of Ephraim, based in part on historical geography, as well as the focus on David in the Saul cycle of literature. He noted the same southern perspective continues in the account of Benjamin joining Judah in the story of Rehoboam and the separation of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (1 Kgs 12:21, 23). But the lingering conflict between David and the tribe of Benjamin (e.g., 2 Sam 2) suggests that the southern identity of Benjamin was not original, but was transferred to Judah (Finkelstein, 2011a; Lipschits, 2020).

Finkelstein (2011a: 365–66; 2015a; 2015b: 386–88) argued that the transfer of the identity of Benjamin from north to south was an important step in the development of pan-Israelite identity, in which the Southern Kingdom of Judah begins to self-identify as "Israel," giving rise to the concept of a single "pan-Israelite" nation, made up of the fallen Northern Kingdom and the Southern Kingdom, with the cultic center at Jerusalem (see the "Introduction"). The southern identity of Benjamin, along with the concept of pan-Israelite identity, may have originated as early as the reign of Hezekiah immediately after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (Finkelstein, 2011a: 362–64); but it would certainly have been solidified under the Josianic expansion of the Southern Kingdom of Judah into the region of Benjamin, which is reflected in the source document of place-names in the book of Joshua (see the "Comments" on Josh 15). The identification of the Southern Kingdom as including the territories of Judah and Benjamin continued into the postexilic period, as is evident in the account of the returnees from exile in Ezra-Nehemiah, who self-identified as the members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (e.g., Ezra 2:70, 10:5; Neh 7:73).

The shifting identity of Benjamin in tradition indicates that its territory was viewed as a source of conflict, with both northern Israel and southern Judah claiming the territory at different times. Schunck (1963: 140–42), following Noth, placed the conflict over the territory of Benjamin in the earliest period of the monarchy. D. Edelman (2001: 72) noted the possibility of a conflict over Benjamin in the tenth century BCE, but she argued that the sixth century is the more likely setting, especially since the territory of Benjamin survived the Neo-Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem (e.g., Blenkinsopp, 2006: 644; Lipschits, 1999: 165–85; Magen, 2004). Knauf (2006) reinforced the centrality of Benjamin in the sixth century, arguing that Mizpah functioned as the center of government, with Bethel as the cultic center until the inauguration of Jerusalem in 515 BCE (see also Na'aman, 2009b: 341). Fleming (2012: 159–60) pushed the origin of the conflict back to the close of the monarchic period in the seventh century, when the population of Benjamin increased (see esp. Lipschits, 1999, 2020). But even in this case, the conflict over the territory of Benjamin and its role in the shifting meaning of pan-Israelite identity continued into the exilic and postexilic periods (Giffone, 2019: 956–72).

The function of Benjamin in the book of Joshua must be interpreted within the larger debate over pan-Israelite identity in the postexilic period. The postexilic author of Joshua is aware of the Judean claim to Benjamin from the reign of Josiah; this is evident from the author's use of the source document of place-names, in which the regions of Judah and Benjamin were combined into one unified territory. The author's rejection of the Judean claim to Benjamin is clear from the way in which the source document is refashioned and redistributed in Josh 15–18. The author dissolves the unification of Judah and Benjamin as one territory both in the process of the allotment of the land and in the creation of the tribal borders. The separation of Benjamin and Judah in Joshua is also aimed at the continued unification of Judah and Benjamin in the postexilic period reflected in Ezra-Nehemiah and in Chronicles (e.g., 2 Chr 11, 25, 34; see Giffone, 2016). The separation of Judah and Benjamin in Joshua contrasts, in particular, with the portrayal of the returnees from Babylon in Ezra-Nehemiah, where the territories of Judah and Benjamin are combined as the province of Yehud (e.g., Ezra 5:8, Neh 5:14; see the settlements in Neh 11:25–36); the members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are identified as "Israel" (e.g., Ezra 1:5, 2:70, 4:3; Neh 2:10); and Jerusalem functions as the central cultic site (e.g., Ezra 1:1–5; Neh 8–10).

The author of Joshua does not claim Benjamin as part of the northern territory of the sons of Joseph. Instead, the author separates Benjamin from the sons of Joseph as well as from Judah. The sons of Joseph too receive their territory at Gilgal, in contrast to Benjamin, which receives its territory at Shiloh; and the border between the two tribes is also underscored through repetition (Joseph, 16:1–3; Benjamin, 18:12–13). The literary design separates Benjamin from both the northern sons of Joseph and the southern tribe of Judah; it also subordinates Benjamin to both as a secondary or a marginal region, whose northern and southern borders were predetermined already in the allotment of land at Gilgal. As a result, Benjamin represents the borderland between the northern sons of Joseph and the southern tribe of Judah.

The literary design of Josh 14–18 indicates that Benjamin mediates between the more prominent territories of Joseph and Judah without becoming a possession of either; in this role it functions as a frontier region. Giffone (2019: 968–69) noted the same mediating function of the eponymous ancestor Benjamin between the brothers Joseph and Judah in Gen 37–50. The function of Benjamin as a mediating frontier in Joshua is underscored by the repetition of the northern and southern borders of Benjamin to separate the region from both the sons of Joseph and the tribe of Judah; neither group can lay claim to Benjamin. The prominence of Benjamin in the allotment of land at Shiloh underscores the importance of establishing the frontier between Joseph and Judah.

Frontiers are often ambiguous regions, because of their location at the periphery of centralized authority. As a result, the frontier may be mythologized as a place of power fraught with potential danger (Loeb and Luescher, 2016). This is the function of Benjamin in the book of Joshua; it is the region identified with the conquest of the ark. The procession of the ark into the land is confined to the region of Benjamin; it begins at Gilgal, and the ark proceeds from there as Yahweh continues to wage holy war at Jericho and Ai. The wars are followed by the placement of the ark at its cultic resting place near Shechem at Ebal and Gerizim in the tribal territory of West Manasseh; it does not process north through Ephraim. These events make Benjamin stand out in the book of Joshua as a liminal region, where the power of Yahweh in the ark was made known in extraordinary ways. The remaining wars against the southern and the northern coalition of kings, who dwell outside of the territory of Benjamin, are carried out by Joshua, rather than directly by the ark. The liminal character of Benjamin is carried through into the distribution of land, where it is marked off from both the tribe of Judah and the sons of Joseph.

Six Remaining Tribes (19:1–51)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The distribution of land at Shiloh (Josh 18–19) describes the frontier areas surrounding the tribe of Judah (Josh 14–15) and the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17). The frontier signifies regions at the edge or the periphery of settled territory (see the "Introduction," "Territory and Territoriality"). The initial distribution of land to Benjamin (Josh 18) at Shiloh describes the frontier between Joseph and Judah; it constitutes the liminal area through which the ark processed to its resting place at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35). Joshua 19 shifts the focus to the southern, northern, and western frontier areas: Simeon in the south; the tribes of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali in the north; and Dan in the west. These tribal regions combine with the two and one-half eastern tribes to define the frontier areas surrounding Judah and Joseph. The frontiers function in different ways in the book of Joshua. The two and one-half eastern tribal areas contrast to the tribal frontiers west of the Jordan; the relationship of these two regions is explored in more detail in Josh 22. Joshua 19 describes the frontier areas on the western side of the Jordan River, which also vary in their relationship to Judah and Joseph. The southern frontier of Simeon is embedded within the allotment of Judah, restricting the southern territory of Judah; and the western frontier of Dan is also partially embedded within Judah. Zebulun, Asher, Issachar, and Naphtali represent the northern frontier; they overlap in many cases with the border of the sons of Joseph, representing the potential for expansion. After the description of the tribal frontier areas (19:1–48), the chapter describes the inheritance of Joshua (19:49–50), before concluding with a summary of the division of the tribal land (19:51). The chapter may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Southern Frontier: Simeon (19:1–9)
2. Northern Frontier: Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali (19:10–39)
    - A. Zebulun (19:10–16)
    - B. Issachar (19:17–23)
    - C. Asher (19:24–31)
    - D. Naphtali (19:32–39)
3. Western Frontier: Dan (19:40–48)
4. Conclusion of Tribal Inheritance (19:49–51)

Translation

19:1–9. SOUTHERN FRONTIER: SIMEON

19 [1]The second lot went out to Simeon, to the tribe of Simeon according to its families. And their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the sons of Judah.

[2]And their inheritance was: Beersheba, Sheba, Moladah, [3]Hazar-shual, Balah, Ezem, [4]Eltolad, Bethul, Hormah, [5]Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah, [6]Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuhen—thirteen cities and their villages.

[7]Ain, Rimmon, Ether, and Ashan—four cities and their villages, [8]and all the villages that are around these cities until Baalath-beer, Ramath-negeb.

This is the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon according to their families. [9]From the territory of the tribe of Judah was the inheritance of the sons of Simeon. For the territory of the sons of Judah was too great for them, and the sons of Simeon received an inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.

19:10–39. NORTHERN FRONTIER: ZEBULUN, ISSACHAR, ASHER, NAPHTALI

19 [10]The third lot went up to the sons of Zebulun according to their families.

And the region of their inheritance was until Sarid. [11]And their border ascends to the west to Maralah and it touches Dabbesheth and the Wadi, which is opposite Jokneam. [12]And it turns from Sarid to the east toward the sunrise to the border of Chisloth-tabor. And it goes out to Daberath and it ascends to Japhia. [13]And from there it crosses to the east toward the sunrise to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin. And it goes out to Rimmon and changes direction toward Neah. [14]And the border turns northward to Hannathon. And its limit is the valley of Iphtah-el, [15]Kattath, Nahalal, Shimron, Idalah, and Bethlehem—twelve cities and their villages.

[16]This is the inheritance of the sons of Zebulun according to their families—these cities and their villages.

[17]To Issachar the fourth lot went out to the sons of Issachar according their families.

[18]And their region was: Jezreel, Chesulloth, Shunem, [19]Hapharaim, Shion, Anaharath, [20]Rabbith, Kishion, Ebez, [21]Remeth, En-gannim, En-haddah, Beth-pazzez. [22]And the area touches Tabor, Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh. And the limit of their region was the Jordan—sixteen cities and their villages.

[23]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Issachar according their families, cities and their villages.

[24]And the fifth lot went out to the tribe of the sons of Asher according to their families.

[25]And their region was: Helkath, Hali, Beten, Achshaph, [26]Allammelech, Amad, and Mishal. And it touches Carmel toward the west and Shihor-libnath. [27]And it turns

eastward to Beth-dagon and it touches Zebulun and the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel. And it goes out to Cabul, [28]Ebron, Rehob, Hammon, Kanah until the great Sidon.

[29]And the border turns to Ramah until the fortified city of Tyre. And the border turns to Hosah. And its limit is the sea: Mahaleb, Achzib, [30]Acco, Aphek, and Rehob—twenty-two cities and their villages.

[31]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Asher according to their families, these cities and their villages.

[32]To the sons of Naphtali the sixth lot went out to the sons of Naphtali according to their families.

[33]And their region was: from Heleph, from the oak in Zaanannim, Adami-nekeb, and Jabneel until Lakkum. And its limit was the Jordan. [34]And the border turned to the west to Aznoth-tabor. And it goes out from there to Hukkok and it touches Zebulun from the south. And it touched Asher from the west and Judah of Jordan on the east.

[35]The fortified cities are: Ziddim, Zer, Hammath, Rakkath, Chinnereth, [36]Adamah, Ramah, Hazor, [37]Kedesh, Edrei, En-hazor, [38]Iron, Migdal-el, Horem, Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh—nineteen cities and their villages.

[39]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Naphtali according to their families, cities, and their villages.

19:40–48. WESTERN FRONTIER: DAN

19 [40]To the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their families the seventh lot went out.

[41]And the region of their inheritance was: Zorah, Eshtaol, Ir-shemesh, [42]Shaalabbin, Aijalon, Ithlah, [43]Elon, Timnah, Ekron, [44]Eltekeh, Gibbethon, Baalath, [45]Jehud, Bene-berak, Gath-rimmon, [46]Me-jarkon, and Rakkon at the border opposite Joppa.

[47]When the inheritance of the sons of Dan went out from them, the sons of Dan went up and fought against Leshem. And they captured it and they slaughtered it with the edge of the sword. And they dispossessed it and dwelled in it. And they called it Leshem-Dan, according to the name of their ancestor, Dan.

[48]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their families.

19:49–51 CONCLUSION OF TRIBAL INHERITANCE

19 [49]When they had completed inheriting the land according to its regions, the Israelites gave an inheritance among them to Joshua son of Nun. [50]By the command of Yahweh they gave him the city for which he requested, Timnath-serah, in the hill country of Ephraim. And he built the city and he dwelled in it.

[51]These are the inheritances that Eleazar, the priest, Joshua, the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of Israel assigned by lot to the tribes of Israel at Shiloh before Yahweh at the door of the Tent of Meeting.

And they completed dividing the land.

Notes

The MT and the LXX diverge in geography throughout Josh 19, with the most significant differences appearing in the descriptions of Zebulun (19:10–16) and Issachar (19:17–22). In these cases, the LXXA follows the MT more closely. Examples in the description of Zebulun include 19:11, Gola (LXXB), absent in the MT and LXXA; 19:12, Baithsamus (LXXB), absent in the MT; and 19:15, Iericho (LXXB), Idalah (MT), and Iadela (LXXA). The description of Issachar includes 19:19, Agin (LXXB), Hapharaim (MT), Apheriam (LXXA); 19:21, En-gannim (MT), Engannim (LXXA), absent in the LXXB; 19:21, En-haddah (MT), Anadda (LXXA), absent in the LXXB; 19:21, Tomman (LXXB), absent in the MT and LXXA. The examples are not exhaustive; see the "Notes" for further contrasts.

The contrast between the MT and the LXX exceeds geography in the portrayal of the tribe of Dan (19:47–48). In so doing, the textual traditions form inner-biblical ties to different accounts of Dan from the book of Judges. The MT idealizes the tribe of Dan; it narrates the Danite migration and conquest of the northern city of Leshem recorded in Judg 18:27–31. The MT only obliquely refers to the cause of the Danite migration from their original territory (19:47). The LXX presents a negative portrayal of the tribe of Dan; it lacks an account of the Danite conquest of the north. In its place, the LXX portrays the tribe of Dan as weak, stating that the tribe was not able to force the Amorites from the land of their inheritance. The LXX version is related to the story of the Danites in Judg 1:34–35. The LXX may further accentuate the weakness of the tribe of Dan by contrasting positive stories of conquest by Judah and Ephraim that are absent in the MT 19:47.

19:1 *The second lot went out to Simeon, to the tribe of Simeon.* The repetition of "Simeon" in the MT is awkward. The LXX presents a smoother rendition, *kai exēlthen ho deuteros klēros tōn huiōn sumeōn,* "and the second lot went out to the sons of Simeon." The LXXA lacks *huiōn,* "sons," of Simeon.

according to its families. Absent in the LXX.

19:2 *Beersheba.* See the "Notes" to 15:28.

Sheba. The Hebrew *šebaʿ* means "oath" or "seven." The occurrence of the place-name in the MT is likely the result of dittography from Beersheba, in which case it does not represent a city. The absence of Sheba in the LXX reinforces this conclusion. In the parallel passage of 15:26, the city appearing before Moladah is Shema, which creates even further confusion in evaluating the text of the MT. The LXX translates the Hebrew *šebaʿ* in 19:2 as *samaa,* "Samaa," which corresponds to 15:26. The elimination of Sheba from the MT would also bring the number of the list of cities to thirteen, which would correspond to the summary in v. 6. With the inclusion of Sheba, the MT lists fourteen cities.

Moladah. See the "Notes" to 15:26.

19:3 *Hazar-shual.* See the "Notes" to 15:28.

Balah. See the "Notes" to 15:9.

Ezem. See the "Notes" to 15:29.

19:4 *Eltolad.* See the "Notes" to 15:30.

Bethul. The Hebrew *bĕtûl* only occurs in 19:4 as a city in Simeon. The place-name Bethul may be related to the Hebrew *bĕtûʾēl,* which also occurs as a southern place-name in the list of the region of Simeon (1 Chr 4:30) and in the story of the cities that received spoil from David (1 Sam 30:27). Noth (1971b: 141) favors the spelling *bĕtûl* as the original, citing records from the Crusades to the place-name Bethula, while Albright (1924: esp. 150) favors *bĕtû'ēl.* The Greek translates *boula* in the LXXB; the place-name is absent in the LXXA. The parallel to Bethul in the list of cities within Judah is Chesil (see the "Notes" to 15:30).

Hormah. See the "Notes" to 12:14.

19:5 *Ziklag.* See the "Notes" to 15:31.

Beth-marcaboth. The Hebrew *bêt hammarkābôt* means "house of the chariots." The location occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible (Josh 19:5, 1 Chr 4:31), both times as a city within the region of Simeon. The location either is absent in the parallel list of cities in Judah (15:31) or is related in some way to the place-name Madmannah.

Hazar-susah. The Hebrew *ḥăsar sûsâ* means "horse farm" or "farm of the mares." The location appears twice in the Hebrew Bible (Josh 19:5, 1 Chr 4:31), both times as a city within the region of Simeon. The location is either absent in the parallel list of cities in Judah (15:31) or related to the place name Sansannah.

19:6 *Beth-lebaoth.* See the "Notes" to 15:32.

Sharuhen. See the "Notes" to 15:32.

thirteen cities. The MT list in 19:2–6 has fourteen cities.

19:7 *Ain.* See the "Notes" to 15:32.

Rimmon. See the "Notes" to 15:32.

Ether. See the "Notes" to 15:42.

Ashan. See the "Notes" to 15:42.

19:8 *and all the villages that are around these cities.* The syntax of the MT is difficult but likely indicates that v. 8 is a continuation of v. 7. The LXX relates vv. 7–8 even more closely as a single sentence by eliminating the Hebrew *wĕkōl-hăḥăṣērîm 'ăšer,* "and all the villages that."

Baalath-beer. See the "Notes" to Baalah in 15:9.

Ramath-negeb. See the "Notes" to 13:26.

19:9 *too great for them.* The Hebrew *rab mēhem* is a superlative construction (Williams, 1976: 318). The antecedent to *mēhem* is the preceding *bĕnê-yĕhûdâ,* as is reflected in the NRSV translation, "the portion of the tribe of Judah was too large for them." The LXX *meizōn tēs autōn* may be comparative, as noted by Moatti-Fine (1996: 202), who translates "greater than their tribe." The comparative reading is difficult, however, since the force of the text is not to compare the allotment of Simeon and Judah, but to underscore the fact that Simeon is receiving a portion of the allotment of Judah, because Judah's allotment is too big for them.

19:10 *region . . . until Sarid.* The Hebrew is difficult, especially at the outset of the geographical description (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 204). The Hebrew *gĕbûl* likely indicates a region in this instance, especially given the presence of the preposition *'ad,* "until," which suggests the extremities formula "from . . . to" (see the "Introduction," "Territory and Territoriality"). The Hebrew *śārid* may mean "survivor." The location is Tell Shadud. The word occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible (Josh 19:10, 12) as the starting point for the description of the region of Zebulun. See Margolis (1931–1938: 364), who reconstructs the Hebrew *'d sdwd 'wlh* and restores the LXX to *eis sedoud. HALOT* (1356) follows Margolis, stating that *śārîd* is a textual error for *šādûd.* Compare Barthélemy (1982: 52), who retains the MT on the basis of the appearance of Sarid in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:13), while also noting that Sered is the first son of Zebulun (Gen 46:14, Num 26:26).

19:11 *and their border ascends.* The LXXB translates the verb *wĕ'ālâ* in the MT as the place-name "Gola," perhaps even combining Esedek from v. 10 with Gola in v. 11 (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 203).

to the west to Maralah. The Hebrew *layyāmmâ ûmar'ălâ* includes the conjunction "and Maralah." The place-name Maralah occurs once within Zebulun (19:11).

Dabbesheth. The Hebrew *dabbāšet* occurs once as a place-name in Zebulun; the location is unknown.

and the Wadi, which is opposite Jokneam. The translation follows Noth (1971a: 115), who interprets the Wadi as located north of Jokneam. But compare H. N. Rösel (2011: 305), who notes problems of topography, suggesting instead a more distant site, Wadi Milh. For commentary on Jokneam, see the "Notes" to 12:22.

19:12 *to the east toward the sunrise.* The Hebrew *qēkmâ mizraḥ haššemeš* is repetitive. Noth (1971a: 115) interprets "toward the sunrise" as a later addition.

Chisloth-tabor. See the "Notes" to 15:10, 19:22.

Daberath. The Hebrew *dābĕrat* is associated with contemporary Khirbet Dabbura, on the northwestern side of Mount Tabor. The location appears twice in the book of Joshua as part of the border of Zebulun (19:12) and as a Levitical city (21:28).

Japhia. The Hebrew *yāpîă'* likely means "high place"; it is identified with Jaffa. The location occurs once as a city on the border of Zebulun.

19:13 *Gath-hepher.* See the "Notes" to 11:22.

Eth-kazin. The Hebrew *'ittâ qāṣîn* means "place of the ruler/commander." The location occurs once as a city on the border of Zebulun.

And it goes out to Rimmon and changes direction toward. The MT *rimôn hammĕtō'ār* is redivided so that the *he* on *hammĕtō'ār* is placed as the directive *he* on Rimmon, *rimônâ,* followed by the participle *mĕtō'ār* (see Barthélemy, 1982: 52–54). For discussion of Rimmon, see the "Notes" to 15:32.

Neah. The Hebrew *nē'â* occurs once as a city in Zebulun; the location is unknown.

19:14 *And the border turns.* The MT includes the accusative *'ōtô,* which is absent in the LXX.

Hannathon. The Hebrew *hannātōn* occurs once as a city in Zebulun. The city appears in the Amarna Letters as the location of a robbery of a Babylonian caravan (EA 8) and again in the campaign records of Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET* 283).

Iphtah-el. See the "Notes" to 15:43.

19:15 *Kattath.* The Hebrew *qaṭṭāt* occurs once as a location in Zebulun. The location is unknown, although Boling and Wright (1982: 445) relate Kattath to Kitron (*qitrôn*) in Judg 1:30, since both sites are related to Nahalal.

Nahalal. The Hebrew *nahălāl* means "place for water." The location is unknown; it occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible as a city in Zebulun (19:15) and as a Levitical city (21:35).

Shimron. See the "Notes" to 11:1.

Idalah. The Hebrew *yid'ălâ* occurs once as a place-name in Zebulun; the location is unknown.

Bethlehem. The Hebrew *bêt leḥem* is a northern city in Zebulun in 19:15; it must be distinguished from the southern Bethlehem, located within the territory of Judah, approximately five miles south of Jerusalem (e.g., Judg 17:7–9, 1 Sam 17:12, Mic 5:1, Neh 7:26). The southern Bethlehem of Judah does not appear in the book of Joshua.

twelve cities and their villages. The LXX lacks the summary of the number of cities in Zebulun.

19:17 *To Issachar the fourth lot went out to the sons of Issachar.* The MT repeats the reference to Issachar in the same manner as the double reference to Simeon in 19:1. The LXX eliminates the repetition, *kai tōi issachar exēlthen ho klēros ho tetartos,* "and to Issachar the fourth lot went out."

19:18 *Jezreel.* See the "Notes" to 15:56.

Chesulloth. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

Shunem. The Hebrew *šûnēm* occurs once as a place-name in Issachar. The ancient site is identified with contemporary Solem, situated opposite of Mount Gilboa. Shunem occurs two other times in the Hebrew Bible, as the setting for a battle between Saul and the Philistines (1 Sam 28:4) and as the setting for one of the legends of Elisha (2 Kgs 4:8). Outside of the Hebrew Bible, Shunem appears in the list of sites conquered by Thutmose III (*ANET* 243) and again as a conquered city in the Amarna Letters (*ANET* 485).

19:19 *Hapharaim, Shion, and Anaharath.* The MT lists three cities as compared to four in the LXX. The Greek adds Reeroth/Renath (LXXB/LXXA) between the MT's Shion and Anaharath.

Hapharaim. The Hebrew *hăpārayim* means "place of pits." The location occurs once as a place-name within Issachar.

Shion. The Hebrew *šî'ōn* occurs once as a place-name within Issachar.

LXX *Reeroth/Renath.* Absent in the MT.

Anaharath. The Hebrew *'ănāḥărat* occurs once as a place-name in Issachar.

19:20 *Rabbith.* The Hebrew *hārabbît* occurs once as a place-name in Issachar. The Greek translates *dabirōn* (LXXB; compare LXXA *rabbōth*). Nelson (1997: 218) follows the LXXB, Daberath; compare Barthélemy (1982: 55), who retains the MT.

Kishion. The Hebrew *qišyōn* occurs twice as a city in Issachar (19:20) and as a Levitical city (21:28).

Ebez. The Hebrew *'ābez* occurs once as a location in Issachar.

19:21 *Remeth.* The Hebrew *remet* likely means "high place." The location is unknown; it occurs once as a place-name in Issachar.

En-gannim. See the "Notes" to 15:34.

En-haddah. The Hebrew *'ên ḫaddâ* occurs once as a place-name in Issachar. The Greek translates *aimarek* (LXXB) and *ēnadda* (LXXA). On the basis of the Greek, Albright (1926: 232) identified the site with el-Hadeteh, a location northwest of Ein Ohm; Kallai (1986b: 426) suggested instead 'el-Karm, near the village 'el-Hadatah.

Beth-pazzez. The Hebrew *bêt paṣṣēṣ* means "house of shattering." The location remains unidentified; it occurs once as a place-name in Issachar.

19:22 *Tabor.* The Hebrew *tābôr* may mean "height" or "hill." The location is associated with several place-names in the Hebrew Bible and in the book of Joshua. (1) Aznoth-tabor, *'aznôt tābôr,* occurs once as a location in Naphtali (19:22). It is identified with Umm Jebeil, a location north of Mount Tabor (Kallai, 1986: 236; Boling and Wright, 1982: 459). (2) Chisloth Tabor is a location in Zebulun (19:12). See also the "Notes" to 15:10. (3) Tabor is a mountain in the northeastern section of the Jezreel

Valley associated with the region of Issachar (19:22). The association of Mount Tabor with the tribes of Naphtali (19:34), Zebulun (19:12), and Issachar (19:22) suggests that the mountain is the point of contact between the different tribal areas, rather than a location within any one specific tribe. Mount Tabor also appears outside of the book of Joshua as the setting for the battle of Deborah and Barak, which reinforces its strategic location (Judg 4:6). It may be a cultic site in the book of Hosea (5:1). The story of the initial meeting between Samuel and Saul identifies the oak of Tabor, *'ēlôn tābôr,* as a location to which Samuel directs Saul to receive food (1 Sam 10:3).

Shahazumah. The Hebrew *šaḥăṣûmâ* occurs once as a border city in Issachar. The name has puzzled interpreters, prompting the suggestion by Albright (1926: 232–33) that the noun may be the conflation of *šḥṣ* and *ymh,* resulting in the place-name "Shahaz-toward-the-sea," based on the Qere of the MT *šahašymh.* The reading is strengthened by the Greek translation, *salim kata thalassan,* "Salim toward the sea" (LXXB), and *sasima kata thalassan,* "Sasima toward the sea" (LXXA). The location is unknown.

Beth-shemesh. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

Jordan. See the "Notes" to 1:4.

sixteen cities and their villages. The MT summarizes the list of place-names for Issachar as sixteen, while listing only fifteen locations. The LXX lacks the summary; the inclusion of the Greek location Reeroth/Renath (19:19) would bring the total of place-names to sixteen.

19:25 *Helkath.* The Hebrew *ḥelqat* means "slippery place." The syntax of the MT suggests the loss of the preposition "from," *min* (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 216), reflected in the LXXB *ex eleketh* (the LXXA follows the MT). H. N. Rösel (2011: 310) cautions against this reading, suggesting that the Hebrew *min* would be better translated with *apo.* The place-name occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a border city of Asher (19:25) and as a Levitical city (21:31). The parallel reference to the Levitical cities of Asher in 1 Chr 6:75 has Hukok rather than Helkath.

Hali. The Hebrew *ḥali* may mean "ornament." The location is unknown; it occurs once as a border city in Asher.

Beten. The Hebrew *beṭen* means "pistachio nut" (Noth, 1971b: 143). The location is unknown; it occurs once as a border city of Asher (19:25).

Achshaph. See the "Notes" to 11:1.

19:26 *Allammelech.* The Hebrew *'ăllammelek* means "oak/terebinth of the king." The location is unknown; it occurs once as a border city of Asher. The LXXB translates *elimelek.* The location is absent in the LXXA.

Amad. The Hebrew *'am'ād* occurs once as a border city in Asher; the location is uncertain, perhaps tied to Tall al-'dham (Frankel, 1998: 58).

Mishal. The Hebrew *miš'āl* means "place of inquiry." The location may be Tell en-Nahl; it occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible, twice with the spelling *miš'āl,* in Josh 19:26 and 21:30, and once with the spelling *māšāl,* in 1 Chr 6:59. The three references appear to indicate the same city in Asher, which is both a border town (Josh 19:26) and a Levitical city (Josh 21:30, 1 Chr 6:59). The location is unknown.

Carmel. See the "Notes" to 12:22.

Shihor-libnath. See the "Notes" to 13:3. Shihor-libnath is a northern city in Asher or perhaps a reference to the lower course of the Kishon River; it cannot be south of Carmel, according to Kallai (1986: 176). The hyphenated form of the name *šîḥôr libnāt,* "Shihor-libnath," occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible. The LXX translates as two place-names, *kai tōi siōn kai labanath,* "Sion and Labanth" (see Boling and Wright, 1982: 454).

19:27 *Beth-dagon.* See the "Notes" to 15:41.

Iphtah-el. See the "Notes" to 15:43.

Beth-emek. The Hebrew *bêt hā'ēmeq* means "place of the valley." If the location marks the border of Asher, it is south of Cabul (Kallai, 1986b: 432; Lehmann, 2008: 81); but it may be part of the town list, in which case the location is Tell Mimas (Frankel, 1998: 60–61; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 312). Beth-emek occurs once as a place-name in Asher.

Neiel. The Hebrew *nĕ'î'ēl* may mean "delight of El." The location is not clear, although Kallai (1986: 432) suggests Ya'nin just north of Cabul; Lehmann (2008: 82) suggests a location south of Cabul. It occurs once as a location in Asher.

Cabul. The Hebrew *kābûl* derives from the root *kbl,* which means "to bind, fetter," but the meaning of the city Cabul is uncertain. First Kings 9:13 provides a folk etiology, in which twenty cities associated with Cabul are described by Hiram as worthless, prompting the etiology, "So they (the twenty cities) are called the land of Cabul to this day." The relationship of the singular city in Josh 19:27 with the folk etiology is unclear.

19:28 *Ebron.* Or Abdon. The Hebrew *'ebrōn* occurs once as a place-name in Asher. The Greek translates *elbōn* (LXXB) and *achran* (LXXA). The location may be related to the Levitical city in Asher (21:30). Boling and Wright (1982: 454) identify the location of Ebron/Abdon with Khirbet 'Abda on the coastal plain of Acco (see also Lehmann, 2008: 76).

Rehob. The Hebrew *rĕḥōb* means "broad, wide" or "open place." The word often describes open spaces in walled cities (e.g., Neh 8:3, 2 Chr 32:6). There are two designations for Rehob in the Hebrew Bible. (1) Rehob is a location in Asher in the vicinity of Acco (Josh 19:28, 30; 21:31; Judg 1:31; 1 Chr 6:75); the location is uncertain, perhaps Tall Bir al-Gharbi (Kallai, 1986: 433; Aharoni, 1979: 441; Frankel, 1998: 64), although Josh 19:28 and 30 appear to locate Rehob differently, in the northern region of Asher toward Sidon (v. 28) and farther south, probably in the area of Acco (v. 30). (2) Rehob is a location in northern Galilee, which Aharoni (1979: 441) identified with Tell el-Balat. The location does not appear in Joshua (see Num 13:21, 2 Sam 10:8).

Hammon. Or Hammoth-dor/Hammath. The Hebrew *ḥammôn* means "place near the hot springs." The word is used to describe two or three different locations in the book of Joshua. (1) Hammon is a city in the region of Asher (19:28). The association of Hammon with Kanah and Sidon suggests a location in the northern coastal area of contemporary Lebanon. Kallai (1986: 432–33) identifies the location with Umm el-'Amad. (2) Hammath is a city in Naphtali (19:35). Although the MT lists the cities of Hammath and Rakkath without a conjunction, *wĕḥammat raqqat,* two locations are likely intended (see also the LXXA *amath kai rekkath*). Historical geographers identify Hammath with contemporary Hammam Tabariyeh, the location of hot springs south of Tiberias on the western coast of the Sea of Galilee. (3) Hammoth-dor is a Levitical city within Naphtali (21:32). Hammoth-dor is most likely the same location as Hammath (19:35). The parallel list of the Levitical cities within Naphtali in 1 Chr 6:61 (Eng. 6:76) cites Hammon, rather than Hammoth-dor.

Kanah. See the "Notes" to 16:8.

Sidon. See the "Notes" to 11:8.

19:29 *Ramah.* See the "Notes" to 13:26.

Tyre. The Hebrew *ṣōr* means "rock," the common name for Tyre throughout the Semitic languages. The author describes Tyre as "fortified"; it appears only once in the description of Asher. Tyre is a significant city from its founding in the Early Bronze Age; it is located roughly twenty-five miles south of Sidon on the Phoenician coast of the Mediterranean Sea. It has not been part of the territory of Israel at any time in its history.

Hosah. The Hebrew *ḥōsâ* may mean "refuge." It is identified with Tell Rashidiyeh.

Mahaleb. The Hebrew *mēḥebel* is likely a corruption of *maḥălēb.* C. F. Burney (1918: 28) notes the LXXB *apo leb,* "from Leb," in support. Mahalab may be related to Ahlab and Helbah in Judg 1:31, which lists the following unconquered cities in the tribe of Asher: "Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Acco, or the inhabitants of Sidon or of Ahlab or of Achzib, or of Helbah, or of Aphik, or of Rehob."

Achzib. The MT *'akzîbâ* is written with the directional *-ah,* "toward Achzib." The directional is absent in the LXXB, *echozob.* The LXXA writes *apo tou schoinismatos achziph,* "from the allotment of Achziph." For discussion of Achzib, see the "Notes" to 15:44.

19:30 *Acco.* The Hebrew *'ūmmâ* (MT *'ūmâ*) is likely Acco, based on the LXXB, *archōb,* and the parallel in Judg 1:31, Acco. Acco is identified with Tell el-Fukhkhar. Acco is a significant city already in the Bronze Age; it is mentioned in Egyptian sources of Thutmoses III (*ANET* 242) and continues to function in a prominent role into the Hellenistic period. See G. Lehmann (2008: 45–72) for a detailed history of the region of Acco from the late Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period.

Aphek. See the "Notes" to 12:18.

Rehob. See the "Notes" to 19:30.

twenty-two cities and their villages. The number of locations in the MT is twenty-four. Boling and Wright (1982: 455) achieve the number twenty-two by eliminating Ahlab and Achzib (19:29) as additions.

19:32 *To the sons of Naphtali the sixth lot went out to the sons of Naphtali according to their families.* The MT repeats the reference to Naphtali in a similar manner as the introduction to the lot of Simeon in 19:1. The LXX eliminates the repetition, *kai tōi nephthali exēlthen ho klēros ho hektos,* "and to Naphtali the sixth lot went out."

19:33 *Heleph.* The Hebrew *ḥēlep* means "substitute settlement" or "reed settlement." The location occurs once in the Hebrew Bible as a border city of Naphtali (19:33). Its location has been identified with Khirbet Arbaqthah (Kallai, 1986: 231), although Boling and Wright (1982: 458) rule out the site because of its more southern location just northeast of Mount Tabor, when a more northern location is expected. The Greek translates *moolam* (LXXB) and *meeleph* (LXXA). In each case, the LXX includes the Hebrew preposition *min* in the phrase *mēḥēlep,* "from Heleph," as part of the place-name.

the oak of Zaanannim. The Hebrew *mē'ēlôn bĕṣa'ănannîm* likely refers to a significant sacred tree used as a marker for the southern border of Naphtali. The LXX has interpreted the phrase as separate locations, *mōla kai besemiin,* "Mola and Besemin" (LXXB), or *maēlōn kai besenanim,* "Maelon and Besenanim" (LXXA). The single location in the MT occurs twice as marking the border of Naphtali (19:33); it is also the residence of Heber, the Kenite, who was a descendent of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses (Judg 4:11).

Adami-nekeb. The Hebrew *'ădāmî hanneqeb* means "the red place at the pass." The place-name occurs once as a location on the southern border of Naphtali. Kallai (1986: 235) identifies the site with Khirbet Damiyeh (see also Boling and Wright, 1982: 458). The Greek translates the Hebrew as two locations, *arme kai nabōk,* "Arme and Nabok" (LXXB), and *armai kai nakeb,* "Armai and Nakeb" (LXXA).

Jabneel. See the "Notes" to 15:11.

Lakkum. The Hebrew *laqqûm* occurs once as a place-name on the southern border of Naphtali; it is identified with Khirbet el-Mansura (Boling and Wright, 1982: 459).

Jordan. See the "Notes" to 1:2.

19:34 *Aznoth-tabor.* See the "Notes" to 19:22.

Hukkok. The Hebrew *ḥûqōq* occurs once as a place-name in Naphtali. Kallai (1986: 237) proposed the identification with Yaquq; Boling and Wright (1982: 459) caution that Yaquq is too far north.

Judah of Jordan. The Hebrew *ûbîhûhâ hayyardēn* is difficult. The reference to Judah cannot be the territory of the tribe of Judah, since its northern border is much farther to the south. The alternative is to interpret the phrase as a specific place-name farther north, but one would expect the construct form of Judah, *yĕhûdat hayyardēn.* Soggin (1972: 188) concluded that the location is "strange and inexplicable" and that "'Judah' is perhaps a form which has been corrupted by dittography with Jordan, which is mentioned next." The LXX translates *ho iordanēs,* "the Jordan." Kallai (1986: 238) rejects solutions based on textual corruption, concluding "that at its eastern extremity Naphtali's allotment abuts on the Jordan, and that the term 'Judah' is meant to demarcate a specific detail in this abutment."

19:35 *Ziddim.* The Hebrew *ṣiddîm* occurs once as a place-name in Naphtali. Noth (1971b: 116) eliminates the place-name Ziddim, along with the first four words of 19:35, *wĕ'ārê mibṣār haṣṣidîm ṣēr,* "the fortified cities are Ziddim, Zer," judging the phrase to be a corruption from the repetition of 19:29ab, *wĕ'ad-'îr mibṣar-ṣōr,* "until the fortified city of Tyre," and 19:28b, *'ad ṣîdôn rabbâ,* "until the great Sidon." H. N. Rösel (2011: 317) supports Noth, pointing out that the "total of 19 towns in v. 38, omits towns referred to at the beginning of v. 35." The LXX translation provides some support, since it translates the Hebrew Ziddim as *poleis teichēreis tōn turiōn,* "the fortified cities of the Tyrians."

Zer. The Hebrew *ṣēr* occurs once as a place-name in Naphtali. Noth (1971b: 116) eliminates the location from the MT, arguing that *ṣēr* is a corruption from the reference to *ṣōr,* "Tyre," in the MT of 19:29ab. The LXX translates *turos,* "Tyre," which also suggests the Hebrew *ṣōr.*

Hammath. See the "Notes" to 19:31.

Rakkath. The Hebrew *raqqat* may mean "swamp." The place-name occurs once as a city in Naphtali; it is identified with Khirbet el-Quneitireh (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 317).

Chinnereth. See the "Notes" to 11:2.

19:36 *Adamah.* The Hebrew *'ădāmâ* occurs once as a city in Naphtali; the location is unknown.

Ramah. See the "Notes" to 13:26.

Hazor. See the "Notes" to 11:1.

19:37 *Kedesh.* See the "Notes" to 10:41.

Edrei. See the "Notes" to 12:4.

En-hazor. See the "Notes" to 11:1.

19:38 *Iron.* The Hebrew *yir'ôn* occurs once as a location within Naphtali, identified with Yarun southwest of Lake Hule.

Migdal-el. The Hebrew *migdal-'ēl* means "tower of El." The location occurs once as a location in Naphtali, perhaps identified as el-Mejdel.

Horem. The MT *ḥōrēm* means, perhaps, "small chasm." It occurs only once as a location in Naphtali; the location is unknown.

Beth-anath. The Hebrew *bêt 'ănāt* likely means "house of Anath" (the Canaanite goddess). The place-name occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible as a location in the region of Naphtali (19:38); compare Judg 1:33, which states that the people of Naphtali did not drive out the Canaanite population from Beth-anath but instead enslaved them. See also Beth-anoth in the "Notes" to 15:59.

Beth-shemesh. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

19:40 *To the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their families the seventh lot went out.* The LXX *kai tōi dan exēlthen ho klēros,* "and to Dan the seventh lot went out," lacks the Hebrew "to the tribe of," "the sons of," and "according to their families."

19:41 *Zorah.* See the "Notes" to 15:33.

Eshtaol. See the "Notes" to 15:33.

Ir-shemesh. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

19:42 *Shaalabbin.* The Hebrew *ša'ălabbîn* occurs once as a location in Dan. It may also be spelled *ša'albîm* (Judg 1:35, 1 Kgs 4:9), perhaps meaning "the place of the foxes."

Aijalon. See the "Notes" to 10:12.

Ithlah. The Hebrew *yitlâ* occurs once as a location in Dan; it remains unidentified.

19:43 *Elon.* The Hebrew *'êlôn* means "place of the ram." The location occurs once as a place-name in Dan; it may be a dittography of Aijalon (19:42). The LXX translates *ailōn.* The place-name may also appear in the list of the districts of Solomon in 1 Kgs 4:9 as Elon-beth-hanan, especially if the LXX reading is favored, *ailōn heōs baithanan,* "Elon until Beth-hanan."

Timnah. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

Ekron. See the "Notes" to 13:3.

19:44 *Eltekeh.* See the "Notes" to 15:59.

Gibbethon. The Hebrew *gibbĕtôn* means "hill." It is identified with Tell Melat or Ras Abu Hamid (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 320). The location occurs twice in the book of Joshua as a place-name in Dan (19:44) and as a Levitical city (21:23). The city is also designated as a Philistine possession in 1 Kgs 15:27.

Baalath. See the "Notes" to 15:9.

19:45 *Jehud.* The Hebrew *yĕhūd* occurs once as a place-name. The annals of Sennacherib also mention Azor in conjunction with Bene-berak (*ANET* 287).

Bene-berak. The Hebrew *bĕnê bĕraq* means "the place of the clan of Berak." The location occurs once as a place-name in Dan (19:45).

Gath-rimmon. See the "Notes" to 11:22.

19:46 *Me-jarkon.* The Hebrew *mê-hayyarqôn* means "water of the Yarkon." The location occurs only once; it may designate a place-name in Dan or a river.

Rakkon. The Hebrew *raqqôn* may mean "narrow place" or "strait." The term occurs once as a location in Dan. Rakkon may be the result of textual corruption through dittography with the preceding *hāyyarqôn.* The location is absent in the LXX, which translates v. 46 as "and from the west, Yarkon, the border was adjacent to Joppa."

Joppa. The Hebrew *yāpô* means "beautiful town." The city is situated on the Mediterranean coast and identified with contemporary Jaffa, located south of Tel Aviv. Joppa functioned as a central port city through the history of the ancient Near East. It is already mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose II in the middle of the second millennium BCE (*ANET* 242). In the Hebrew Bible, the city is mentioned as a port for shipping timber to construct the temple (2 Chr 2:15, Ezra 3:7), as the location from where Jonah fled to catch a ship to Tarshish (Jonah 1:3), and as a city in the region of Dan (Josh 19:46).

19:47–48. *When the inheritance . . . to their families.* The MT (19:47) and LXX (19:47–48) each contain an addition to the description of Dan's region (19:4–46, 48) from Judges (see "Composition"). Table 7 provides the points of contrast, along with the parallel material from the book of Judges.

The MT focuses on the Danite migration and conquest of the more northern city of Leshem (also in Judg 18:27–31) without making reference to the weakness of the Danites against the Amorites, which is the central theme in the LXX. The LXX excludes the story of the Danite migration and conquest of the northern city of Leshem (also in Judg 1:34); it includes additional information that contrasts the oppression of Dan with Judah's conquest of Lachish and the eventual subjugation of the Amorites, all of which is absent in the MT. Interpreters account for the variations differently. Boling and Wright (1982: 465–66) interpret the differences between the MT and the LXX as the result of the history of composition, with the shorter MT reflecting the interests of Dtr1 and the longer LXX tied to Dtr2; Nelson (1997: 225–26) interprets the longer LXX as a literary development of the shorter MT. Tov (2015: 143–44) suggests, instead, that the LXX represents a different *Vorlage* than the MT.

19:47. *When the inheritance of the sons of Dan went out from them.* The Hebrew *wayēṣēʾ gĕbûl-bĕnê-dān mēhem* means "when the territory . . . was lost to them." The sentence is absent in the LXX. Boling and Wright (1982: 463) translate "and their territory became too confining for them" by combining the first clause of v. 47 in the MT with the last clause of v. 47 in the LXX. They conclude that the unique use of "to go out," *yāṣaʾ,* in the MT is a misreading from the Hebrew *wyṣ* ("narrow," as in 17:15).

Leshem. The Hebrew *lešem* occurs once as a northern city conquered by Dan. The city is absent in the LXX. The story of the Danite conquest in Judg 18 identifies the city as *layiš,* "Laish."

19:50 *Timnath-serah.* See the "Notes" to 15:10.

19:51 *before Yahweh.* The LXX writes *enantion kuriou,* "before God."

And they completed dividing the land. The MT *waykalû mēḥalēq ʾet-hāʾāreṣ* is a concluding formula that also marks the conclusion of creation (Gen 2:1) and of the construction of the temple (Exod 40:33). The LXX *kai eporeuthēsan embateusai tēn gēn,* "and they proceeded to claim that land," provides a different emphasis, more on the taking possession of the land than on the completion of the divine command.

Table 7. MT and LXX versions of Josh 19:47–48 and contrast with Judges material

MT Josh 19:47–48	*LXX Josh 19:47–48*	*MT Judg 18:27–31, 1:34–35*
19:47. When the inheritance of the sons of Dan went out from them, the sons of Dan went up and fought against Leshem. And they captured it and they slaughtered it with the edge of the sword. And they dispossessed it and dwelled in it. And they called it Leshem-Dan, according to the name of their ancestor, Dan.		18:27–31. [The Danite conquest of Laish and the renaming of the city Dan.]
19:48. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their families.	19:47. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the sons of Dan according to their districts, their cities and their villages.	
	19:47a. And the sons of Dan did not force out the Amorite who was oppressing them in the mountain, and the Amorites did not permit them to go down into the valley, and they reduced from them the boundary of their portion.	1:34. The Amorites pressed the Danites back into the hill country; and they did not allow them to come down to the plain.
	19:48. And the sons of Judah proceeded and fought against Lachish, and they took it and smote it with the edge of the sword, and they inhabited it and called its name Lasendak.	
	19:48a. And the Amorite continued to dwell in Elom and in Salamin, and the hand of Ephraim was heavy upon them, and they became as tribute to them.	1:35. The Amorites continued to live in Har-heres, in Aijalon, and in Shaalbim, but the hand of the house of Joseph rested heavily on them, and they became subject to forced labor.

Composition

The study of the composition of Josh 19 has concentrated on the relationship of the city lists to the porous description of the borders of the six tribes, the identification of source documents, and the composite character of the conclusion in 19:49–51.

Wellhausen (1889: 134) concluded that the city lists did not conform to the Priestly document; he judged 19:15, 24b, 25a, 28, 30, and 35–38 to be later additions; Josh 19:49–50, which corresponded to 24:33, represented JE. Steuernagel (1923: 281–87) shifted the study of geography to the textual differences between the MT and the LXX; he concluded that 19:49–51 may contain remnants of the E source, which linked to 24:30. The problem of the summary numbers to the city lists of Simeon (19:6, thirteen cities), Zebulun (19:15, twelve cities), Issachar (19:22, sixteen cities), Asher (19:30, twenty-two cities), and Naphtali (19:39, nineteen cities) also raised questions of composition; solutions include the loss of geographical terms and the influence of late redactional insertions and text-critical variations (see, among others, Steuernagel, 1923: 281–87; Noth, 1971b: 113–21; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 302–18). Alt (1927) identified a source document of the Galilean tribes that included Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali but not Simeon, Dan, and Issachar. The hypothesis underwent critical evaluation ranging from adjustment (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 219–20) to rejection (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 300–301; see the reviews in Na'aman, 1986: 35–117, esp. 75–95, 107–17; and in Noort, 1998a: 181–97). The research indicates a history of composition in the geographical description of the six remaining tribes, especially in the city lists, which continues through the textual versions. But the divergent details do not indicate a systematic revision of the material representing a distinctive point of view (see the "Notes").

Interpreters have identified a history of composition in the description of Dan (19:40–48). The original description included 19:40–46, 48 (MT); Josh 19:47 (MT = LXX 19:47–48) is an addition. Both the original description of Dan and the addition create contrast to the other tribal regions in Josh 19. The original description begins with a reference to the region (*gĕbûl,* 19:41) of Dan. But in the case of Dan, the description is limited only to place-names. Zebulun (19:10), Issachar (19:18), Asher (19:25), and Naphtali (19:33) also begin with the reference to a region (*gĕbûl*), but these tribal descriptions include both loosely sketched boundaries and city lists. Only Simeon is similar to Dan in having its region limited to place-names; but in the case of Simeon, its allotment is described as an "inheritance" within Judah without any reference to "borders." The original description of Dan consists only of cities, most of which are in the tribal territory of Judah; the description of Dan also lacks an evaluation of the tribe. The addition in 19:47 (MT; LXX 19:47–48) introduces a negative evaluation of Dan by linking the original description of the region with accounts of the tribe in Judges. The MT (19:47) introduces the motif of Dan's migration to the north (Judg 18), while the LXX (19:47–48) focuses on Dan's unsuccessful conquest of the Amorites (Judg 1:34–35).

The conclusion to the allotment of land (19:49–51) also undergoes a history of composition. Many interpreters tie the conclusion (19:49–51) to the introduction (14:1–5). Noth (1971b: 83–85, 123) identified three stages of composition: The pre-Deuteronomistic core focused on Israel (14:1a, 19:49a,); the Deuteronomistic redactor shifted the focus to Joshua and his city of Timnath-serah (19:49b–50, 51b); and finally a post-Deuteronomistic redaction included Eleazar and the "leaders of the fathers of the tribes" (14:1b, 19:51a,). Variations of Noth's work continue in subsequent redaction-critical studies. The composition was evaluated on the basis of the origin tradition of Joshua's burial site at Timnath-heres (Farber, 2017: 47–48), or the larger literary development of the book of Joshua within the formation of the Deuteronomistic History (Fritz, 1994: 200–201) or the Hexateuch (e.g., de Vos, 2003: 208–11; Knauf, 2008: 169). Gass (2019: 137–51) identified four stages of composition in 14:1–5 and 19:49–51 as the book of Joshua was formed within the Hexateuch, including the Priestly redaction, which introduces the Israelite inheritance (14:1a, 19:49a,) by lot at Shiloh (14:2ab*a,* 19:51b*a*); the Late-Priestly redaction expands the frame to include Eleazar, Joshua, and the "heads of the fathers of the tribes of Israel" (14:1b, 19:51b); the Priestly-Deuteronomistic redaction accentuates the twelve-tribe system (14:2b*b,* 3) and the summary statement of land division (14:5, 19:51b*b*); the Late-Priestly glosses include the information on the Levites (14:4b); and a Deuteronomistic redaction includes the inheritance to Joshua (19:49b–50). I interpret two stages of composition in 19:49–51 in the formation of the book of Joshua: the original conclusion to the division of tribal territory (19:49–50, 51b), and a supplement that adds Eleazar and the "heads of the fathers of the tribes of Israel" (19:51a). The addition of the priestly characters is part of a larger revision throughout Josh 13–24 (see Josh 14, 20–21, 22, 24).

Comments

SOUTHERN FRONTIER: SIMEON

The tradition-history of the tribe of Simeon is obscure. Noth (1972: 86) described Simeon as a "forgotten tribe"; it is absent, for example, in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33). The infrequent references to Simeon suggest that it was northern, although the evidence is scattered and unclear. Simeon and Levi are associated with the slaughter of the people of Shechem (Gen 34), suggesting its location in the north (de Vaux, 1978: 663). The northern identity of Simeon is reinforced in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49), which contains a judgment on the two tribes for the massacre of Shechem, stating that Simeon and Levi will be divided "in Jacob, and scattered . . . in Israel" (Gen 48:7), again suggesting northern territory. Other portraits of the northern identity of Simeon appear in 2 Chronicles. The story of the reform of King Asa in 2 Chr 15 associates Simeon with the northern tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh as aliens who joined the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin to worship at Jerusalem (2 Chr 15:9–10). The same portrait appears in the Chronicler's account of Josiah's reform, which extended northward to "the towns of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, and as far as Naphtali" (2 Chr 34:6). The northern identity of Simeon may also be assumed in Ahijah's message to Jeroboam that Yahweh would split the kingdom of Solomon and give Jeroboam ten tribes (1 Kgs 11:28–29). This text is obscure; it is late, presupposing the twelve-tribe system. In it, Ahijah tears his robe into "twelve pieces" (11:30), stating that Jeroboam would receive "ten tribes" (11:31) and that "one tribe" would remain with Solomon (11:32), which conflicts with the concept of the twelve tribes. The literary context clarifies that two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, actually constitute the remaining kingdom of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 12:21). If this reading is correct, then it would place Simeon with the ten northern tribes of Jeroboam.

The author of Joshua rejects any past or competing traditions that may locate the identity of Simeon in the north; he clearly identifies Simeon as a southern tribe, whose territory is embedded in Judah. The lot to Simeon is recounted in Josh 19:1–9. The author underscores through framing (19:1, 9) that the lot to Simeon was south within Judah. The allotment is described in 19:2–8; it consists solely of place-names without additional description of its borders, suggesting its function as a southern frontier area. The place-names derive from the southernmost area of Judah identified as District I (15:21–32). The inheritance of Simeon in the MT consists of nineteen place-names, eleven or twelve of which appear in District I of Judah: (1) Beersheba, (2) Moladah, (3) Hazar-shual, (4) Balah, (5) Ezem, (6) Eltolad, (7) Hormah, (8) Ziklag, (9) Beth-lebaoth, (10) Ain, (11) Rimmon, and (12) perhaps Sheba (from 15:26). The additional eight place-names of Simeon in the MT include (1) Bethul, (2) Beth-marcaboth, (3) Hazar-susah, (4) Sharuhen, (5) Ether, (6) Ashan, (7) Baalath-beer, and (8) Ramah of the Hegeb. Interpreters debate the tradition-historical origin and the inner-biblical relationship between the two texts. Kallai (2003) favored separate source documents; Erisman (2019: 88) discerned a literary strategy to accentuate the primary role of Judah (see the further review by de Vos, 2003: 155–62). The density of the repetition between 19:2–7 and 15:28–32, however, supports the conclusion of Noth (1971b: 113) that the place-names of Simeon are a literary creation by the author of Joshua and that it is based, for the most part, on District I from the original source document of the place-names of Judah (see also Cross and Wright, 1956: 202–26; and Talmon, 1965).

The author clarifies that the location of Simeon within the southern region of Joshua was because the territory of Judah "was too great for them" (19:1, 9), which, as noted by Butler (2014a: 178), is an "extraordinary statement." The allocation of District I to the tribe of Simeon is also part of a larger literary strategy in Josh 13–19, in which the seven tribal territories in Josh 18–19 provide frontier areas to the north, west, and south of the centrally located tribe of Judah and sons of Joseph. The placement of Simeon at the edge of Judah, south of the region allotted to Caleb (14:6–15, 15:13–19), suggests the region is functioning as the southern frontier not only of Judah but also of the entire land allotted to the tribes. The linking of Judah and Simeon and the emphasis on the area of Simeon as a frontier are also evident in a range of texts related to 19:1–9. First Chronicles 4:34–41 recounts stories of Simeon waging war against the Meunim at Gedor, presumably a southern location (1 Chr 4:39–41), and against the Amalekites at Mount Seir (1 Chr 4:42–43); these stories contrast with the narratives of Simeon as a northern tribe noted above (2 Chr 15, 34). The southern location appears again in the late addition of Judg 1:17, when Judah and Simeon together conquer the southern city of Hormah (aka Zephath)—a place-name in District I of Judah (15:30) and in the allotment to Simeon (19:4; for commentary on the late addition of Judg 1:17, see, among others, Rake, 2006; Becker, 1990).

NORTHERN FRONTIER: ZEBULUN, ISSACHAR, ASHER, NAPHTALI

The tribes of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali occupy the northern frontier region of the tribal territory west of the Jordan River. The descriptions in most cases include partial borders and place-names, which at times mix with the cities of West Manasseh. The intermixing indicates that the frontier regions must be interpreted in relationship to the sons of Joseph (16:1–3) and the tribe of West Manasseh (17:7–10). The author provides no information on the northern limit to the sons of Joseph, while only once mentioning the extension of the tribe of West Manasseh northward to Asher (17:7). As a consequence, the northern frontiers aid in clarifying the reach of West Manasseh and of the sons of Joseph.

Zebulun

The meaning of Zebulun is unclear. Noth (1972: 66) suggested its origin in a personal name, Zebul (Judg 9:38). De Vaux (1978: 664) preferred an original geographical reference based on the ending *-un*. Little information is provided on the tribe. Zebulun appears in the Song of Deborah with Naphtali (Judg 5:14, 18; see also Ps 68:27), the Blessing of Moses with Issachar (Deut 33:18), and the tribal map in Ezekiel (Ezek 47:13–48:29) in the far south between Gad (south) and Issachar (north); while the Blessing of Jacob places Zebulun at the sea with maritime imagery (Gen 49:13), which conflicts with the geographical description in Joshua.

Zebulun is introduced as a frontier north of West Manasseh and the sons of Joseph. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears three times; the first indicates the southern reach of Zebulun (19:10), and the final two describe the borders (19:11, 14). The distribution of *gĕbûl* indicates a focus on the borders (19:11–14), which concludes with the list of cities (19:15). The place-name Sarid marks the southernmost reach of Zebulun's land; it also begins the description of the border moving westward (19:1–11; Maralah, Dabbesheth, and the Wadi, opposite Jokneam). Then the border reverses direction, starting once again at Sarid (19:12a), but this time moving east (19:12b; Chisloth-tabor, Daberath, and Japhia), then farther east (19:13; e.g., Gath-hepher, Eth-kazin, Rimmon), before changing direction (19:13; Neah). Zebulun shares no cities with West Manasseh. The region of Zebulun becomes increasingly vague, however, as the border progresses east and north (19:14; e.g., Eth-kazin, Neah, Iphtah-el). The five cities (19:15) provide little clarification; two may be identified (Shimron, Bethlehem), while the numerical summary of twelve cities in the MT (absent in the LXX) is unconnected to the description of Zebulun.

Issachar

Issachar and Zebulun are often associated together as sons of Leah and as northern tribes (e.g., Gen 35:23, 49:13–15; Exod 1:3; Deut 33:18; Judg 5:14–15); this association is carried through in Joshua, with the region of Issachar situated southeast of Zebulun and north of West Manasseh. The regions of Zebulun and Issachar connect in the area of Mount Tabor (Chisloth-tabor in Zebulun, 19:12; and Tabor in Issachar, 19:22). The meaning of Issachar is complicated by the Qere (*yiśśākār*) and the Kethib (*yiśśāśkār*) of the name (*HALOT* 443). The root *śkr*, meaning "to hire, to reward through wages" (*HALOT* 1331), is constant in both forms: the Kethib may translate "there is recompense," while the Qere suggests the Niphal, "he hires himself out." The latter meaning may suggest slavery, which is echoed in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:15), where Issachar is described as a "slave at forced labor" (*lĕmas-ʿōbēr*). Whether the name provides insight into the origin of Issachar remains unclear (compare de Vaux, 1978: 664; and Gottwald, 1979: 216).

The description of Issachar (19:17–23) is aimed at a broad outline of its region through the listing of place-names, rather than a more precise description of borders. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears twice (19:18, 22), in each case designating the region of

Issachar, rather than a border. Fifteen locations sketch out the land in the MT (Reeoth/Renath in LXX 19:19 would bring the total to sixteen, as summarized in MT 19:22). The description begins by marking Jezreel as the southern and Chesulloth as the northern points of Issachar before returning to Shunem, a location midpoint in the region (19:18). An additional list of place-names (19:19–21) is intended to fill in the area, although most are unknown (e.g., Shion, Anaharath, Rabbith, Ebez, Remeth, En-gannim, possibly En-haddah, Beth-pazzez). Of the remaining locations, Hapharaim (19:19) is due east of Shunem; while Kishion (19:19) is north, closer to Mount Tabor, marking the western edge of Issachar (19:22) over against its eastern edge at the Jordan (19:22). What emerges is a frontier without any borders, much like Simeon and Dan. The cardinal points of the region appear to be Chesulloth in the north and Jezreel in south, and the area of Mount Tabor in the west and the Jordan River in the east. The absence of borders is accompanied by overlap with neighboring regions, with the author clarifying that parts of the southern area of Issachar are already occupied by Manasseh (17:11–13).

Asher

The allotment of Asher is described in 19:24–31. Asher means "fortunate, happy." The birth of Asher to Zilpah, Leah's maid, contains a folk etymology for the name, when Leah states at the birth: "'Happy am I! For the women will call me happy'; so she named him Asher" (Gen 30:13). Asher was likely an identifiable region from an early period. References to Asher in the southern Phoenician region are cited within Egyptian inscriptions from the Late Bronze Age during the reigns of Seti I (1991–1792 BCE) and Rameses II (1279–1213 BCE) (see further Simons, 1959: 147; Edelman, 1992b; Gauthier, 1925: 105). The satirical Papyrus Anastasi I (*ANET* 477) may provide a further reference to Asher from the same period, when the author, Hori, rhetorically asks the scribe in Egypt, Amen-em-Opet: "Where does the Achshaph road come? At what town? Pray, teach me about the Mount Wsr. What is its head (*rs*) like?" Interpreters debate whether the Egyptian *wsr* is a reference to Asher, perhaps even Mount Carmel (Aharoni, 1970), or simply the Egyptian word "powerful." Lehmann (2008: 63) states that the close geographical proximity of Achshaph and Mount Wsr is noteworthy, especially if Mount Wsr is a reference to Asher, since both terms appear in 19:24–31.

Asher appears in early literature within the Hebrew Bible, including the Song of Deborah, as a northern tribe associated with the sea (Judg 5:17), as well as the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:20) and the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:24), which may allude to the fertility of its northwest location along the Phoenician coast. The northern placement of Asher in the tribal map of Ezekiel, between Naphtali to the south and Dan to the north (Ezek 48:2–27), also supports the traditional portrait. The description of Asher in Joshua, as extending farther north to include the cities of Tyre and Sidon, is an ideal vision of the northern frontier. Lissovsky and Na'aman (2003: 210) suggest the influence of the account of the census under David, which describes the idealized northern territory of David's kingdom as running "from Dan . . . to Sidon, and . . . to the fortress of Tyre" (2 Sam 24:6–7). The census may have been influenced by Assyrian descriptions of the Phoenician territory.

The region of Asher in Joshua contains a variety of geographical material arranged in a disjointed manner with many unidentifiable sites. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears three times (19:25, 29 [twice]). The first occurrence most likely describes the region of Asher, "And their region was" (19:24); the continued description outlines the extent of the western edge, ranging from Carmel to Sidon, "And it touches Carmel . . . until the great Sidon" (19:26b–28). The final two occurrences describe a border that includes Ramah, Tyre, and Hosah (19:29a). The region of Asher may begin on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, depending on the location of Achshaph; then it moves to the southernmost location of Mount Carmel, following the western edge of Asher (19:25–26; Helkath[?], Hali, Beten, Allamelech, Mishal, and Shihor-libnath are unidentified). The region moves eastward to Zebulun (19:27a; Beth-dagon is unidentified). The description then progresses northward through the valley of Iphtah-el to Cabul (19:27b; Beth-emek and Neiel are unidentified). The northern border of Asher extends through Kanah to Sidon (19:28; Ebron, Rehob, and possibly Hammon are unidentified). The final description of Asher's northwest region (19:29–30) includes a mixture of border points (Ramah, Type, Hosah) and place-names (Mahalab, Achzib, Ummah = Acco, Aphek, and Rehob[?]).

Interpreters debate the history of composition of 19:24–31, especially surrounding the many obscure place-names and the northern reach of the land. The region of Asher is an ideal portrayal; the extensive northern territory never belonged to Israel. The Phoenicians controlled the region surrounding the cities Acco, Tyre, and Sidon (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 310–15; Lissovsky and Na'aman, 2003: 311; Lehmann, 2008: 39–44). Other accounts of the Phoenician territory in the Hebrew Bible also contrast the interpretation of the region of Asher in Joshua. The story of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, for example, describes the city of Cabul and its surrounding region of twenty cities as gifts from Solomon to Hiram (1 Kgs 9:10–14; see the "Notes"). Whatever the origin of this tradition, it conflicts with the distribution of land to Asher in Joshua. The account of the conquest in Judg 1 also provides a contrasting portrait of Asher as not driving "out the inhabitants of Acco, or the inhabitants of Sidon, or of Ahlab, or of Achzib, or of Helbah, or of Aphik, or of Rehob" (1:31). The secure locations in Josh 19:24–30 provide the outline of Asher as a frontier that extends from Mount Carmel in the south to Sidon in the north, and from the Mediterranean Sea in the west to Zebulun in the east. The author adds that portions of the south of Asher are already in the possession of West Manasseh (17:11–13).

Naphtali

The allotment to Naphtali is described in 19:32–39. Naphtali is born to Bilhah, Rachel's maid, and named with the folk etymology from the Hebrew root *ptl,* "to wrestle": "With mighty wrestling/wrestlings of God, I have wrestled with my sister and have prevailed" (Gen 30:8). Naphtali is located in the north in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:18), where it is associated with Zebulun (see also Ps 68:27 and Isa 9:1). Ezekiel locates Naphtali in the north between Asher to the north and Manasseh to the south (48:3). Unlike Ezekiel, Naphtali is the first of the northern frontier tribal regions in Joshua not contiguous to Manasseh; its southern border would be adjacent to Issachar—although the description of Naphtali's borders is not clear in the book of Joshua.

The region of Naphtali constitutes the heartland of Galilee. The author describes the area with borders (19:33–34) and with town lists (19:35–38). The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears twice (19:33, 34); the first occurrence describes the region of Naphtali (19:33), and the second, borders (19:34–35) focused on the south (Aharoni, 1979: 259; Saarisalo, 1927: 120–24; compare Noth, 1971b: 121). The southern border moves eastward from Heleph to the Jordan (19:33; including the locations of the oak of Zaanannim, Adami-nekeb, Jabneel, and Lakkum). The border changes directions, turning westward (19:34), perhaps beginning again at Heleph (so Nelson, 1997: 224), progressing to Aznoth-tabor—a location near Mount Tabor. The border blurs at this point. Hukkok cannot be clearly identified; yet the author links it to Zebulun "from the south," Asher "from the west," and Judah of Jordan "on the east," without mentioning Issachar to the south. The town list in 19:35–38 provides no further clarity. The MT lists nineteen locations that do not correspond to the items in the town list, of which nine cannot be firmly identified (Ziddim, Zer, Adamah, Ramah, Kedesh, Edrei, Horem, Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh). Of the six locations identified, Hazor stands out, since it presents the northernmost point of the conquest by Joshua (11:1, 10, 13).

WESTERN FRONTIER: DAN

Dan is the first son of Bilhah, Rachel's maid; the folk etymology for his name is stated by Rachel: "God has judged me and has also heard my voice and given me a son" (Gen 30:6). The only full brother of Dan in the genealogy of the ancestors is Naphtali, the second son born to Bilhah (Gen 35:25). The portrayal of Dan in the Hebrew Bible is difficult to interpret. There is complexity in studying all of the tribes in Josh 13–19, because of the intertwining of stories about the eponymous ancestors, episodes of the individual tribes, and accounts of tribal land, which are often disjointed and unrelated to each other. Dan is no different; it too requires one to relate distinct stories of the eponymous ancestor, episodes of the tribe or individuals within the tribe, and the varying accounts of its land. But Dan is also unique among the study of the tribes, because it adds the additional ambiguity that the tribe is identified both as a northern city, named Dan, and as a more southern frontier west of the tribe of Judah (Bartusch, 2003: 1). The result is three geographical descriptions of Dan: the northern location, mainly as a city; the southern location as a loosely defined frontier west of Judah; and the migration of Dan as a means of relating the two locations. Comparison of the diverse descriptions provides background for interpreting the region of Dan in the book of Joshua as a western frontier (19:40–46, 48), unrelated to the traditions of Dan as a northern locale. The western frontier of Dan is modified in Joshua in the history of composition with the addition of the migration of the tribes to the northern city of Leshem-Dan (MT 19:47) and the failed conquest of Dan (LXX 19:47–48).

Northern Dan

Dan is often a northern location in the Hebrew Bible. The northern setting is likely evident in the Song of Deborah: "Dan, why did he abide with the ships?" (Judg 5:17). In the poem, Dan is an expected ally of Deborah who fails to assist in the battle. The imagery indicates a location west of the Jordan River opposite Gilead, while the association with Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali points to a northern locale. But the maritime imagery has raised questions about geography. The imagery could be a reference to the participation of Dan in the maritime trade of the Phoenicians, which may even indicate their foreign origin as the Danai, Dan(n)una, or Denyen (Yadin, 1968). The problem of geography, according to Burney (1918: 143), is less about origin than the fact that the city of Laish, identified as the city of Dan, was isolated from the seacoast, making the maritime imagery difficult to interpret. L. E. Stager (1988: 228–32) addressed the problem by detaching Dan from any possession of land, interpreting them instead as

landless clients or resident aliens, translating Judg 5:17, "why did he serve as a client on ships?" (see also Bartusch, 2003: 135–36). Fleming (2012: 277) questioned whether the identity of Dan could be detached from a geographical location or how such a state of landlessness would even function in the Song of Deborah.

The description of Dan in the Song of Deborah is minimal—only four words—yet the scant information points to a northern setting west of the Jordan River in the larger region of Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali. The northern setting is reinforced in a variety of texts that shift in focus between the description of Dan as a specific city, which has been identified and extensively researched (e.g., Biran, 1994), and a less defined territory. The phrase "from Dan to Beersheba" likely refers to the city of Dan in contrast to Beersheba to describe the geographical dimension of "all Israel": "And all Israel from Dan to Beersheba knew that Samuel was a trustworthy prophet" (e.g., 1 Sam 3:20; see also 2 Sam 3:10; 24:2, 15; 1 Kgs 4:25; 1 Chr 21:2; 2 Chr 30:5). Dan remains a northern city tied to Sidon in the account of the census of David (2 Sam 24:6); it is also a northern location in the account of Abram's pursuit of Lot (Gen 14:14), in the account of the war of Ben-hadad against King Asa (1 Kgs 15:20, 2 Chr 16:4), and in the oracle of Jeremiah concerning the foe from the north (Jer 4:15; see also 8:16). Dan represents the northernmost territory of the land in the vision of Moses (Deut 34:1) and in the tribal distribution of land in Ezekiel (48:1).

The most prominent identification of Dan as a northern location is its function as the cultic site of Jeroboam I, the first king of the Northern Kingdom. The Deuteronomistic Historian states after the split of the Northern Kingdom from the united monarchy of David and Solomon that Jeroboam built two golden calves to counter the central role of worship at Jerusalem; that he established two cultic centers for the calves, one at Bethel and another at Dan; and that the rival northern cultic sites to Jerusalem were a "sin" (1 Kgs 12:28–30). The negative judgment on the northern worship at Bethel and at Dan becomes a repeating theme in the Deuteronomistic History and in the Chronicler's History; both compositions exhibit a southern point of view that underscores the important role of Jerusalem as the central cultic site for all Israel. In the Deuteronomistic History, for example, the negative evaluation of the northern king, Jehu, was that he continued to sin like Jeroboam, because he encouraged the worship of the golden calves at Bethel and Dan (2 Kgs 10:29); the worship of the calves is also the reason for the fall of the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs 17:16). The same judgment against Dan reappears in the Chronicler's version of Jeroboam's establishment of the Northern Kingdom (2 Chr 11:15) and in the speech of Abijah against Jeroboam (2 Chr 13:8). The examples illustrate how the identification of the cult at Dan as the rival to Jerusalem introduces a negative evaluation of the northern location as representing the idolatrous religious tradition of the Northern Kingdom.

Southern Dan

Dan is also a southern location in Joshua (MT 19:40–46, 48) and in Judges (1:34–35; 13–16; 18). In Joshua, Dan's land is described with place-names that encompass land from Judah and Joseph. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* appears twice (19:41, 46). The first occurrence (19:41) describes the "region" of Dan before the list of place-names; the second references the "border" of Joppa (19:46). Many of the place-names cannot be located (e.g., Ithlah, Elon, Jehud, Bene-berak, Me-jarkon, and Rakkon). Those that can portray the region as extending north to Joppa on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea (19:46), south to Ekron (19:43; Judah, 15:11), and east to Ir-shemesh and Aijalon (19:41, 42) near the western border of Benjamin. The region that emerges includes land from Ephraim of the sons of Joseph—Joppa is north of Gezer on the southern border of Joseph (16:3)—and cities from Judah, including Zorah (19:41; Judah, 15:33), Eshtaol (19:41; Judah, 15:33), Ir-shemesh (19:41; Beth-shemesh in Judah, 15:10), Timnah (19:43; Judah, 15:10), Ekron (19:43; Judah, 15:11), Eltekeh (19:44; perhaps Eltekon in Judah, 15:59), and Baalath (19:44; Mount Baalah in Judah, 15:11). The emphasis appears to be on the cities from Judah, suggesting a process similar to that of Simeon, whose allotted land in the south was also fashioned from towns in Judah (19:1–9). The cities of Judah extend the region of Dan nearly to the eastern edge of Benjamin. The combined regions of Benjamin and of Dan represent a continuous frontier between the tribe of Judah and the sons of Joseph from the Jordan River and the Dead Sea in the east to the coastal city of Joppa on the west.

In Judges, Dan is a southern location in three different stories: first, the failure of Dan to conquer the Amorites includes the southern locations of Aijalon, Shaalbim, and Mount Heres (1:34–35); second, the story of Samson, the Danite (Judg 13–16), takes place in the cities of Zorah (13:2, 25), Eshtaol (13:25), and Timnah (14:2), as well as the Philistine cities of Ashkelon (14:19) and Gaza (16:1); and third, the migration of the tribe of Dan (18:1–31) is from the southern towns of Zorah and Eshtaol (18:2) to the northern city of Laish (renamed Dan, 19:30).

The southern locations of Dan in the books of Joshua and Judges are likely related, although the history of composition is difficult to recover (for review of the composition, see, among others, Bartusch, 2003; Edenburg, 2016). Joshua and Judges share a number of place-names, including Aijalon (Josh 19:42, Judg 1:35), Zorah (Josh 19:41; Judg 13:2, 25; 18:2, 8, 11), Eshtaol (Josh 19:41; Judg 13:25; 16:31; 18:2, 8, 11), and Timnah (Josh 19:43; Judg 14:1, 5); each book also extends the reach of Dan into Philistine territory (Ashkelon [Judg 14:19], Gaza [Judg 16:1, 21], and Ekron [Josh 19:43]). Comparison between Joshua and Judges also highlights a contrast in the portrayal of Dan. Judges reflects a consistently negative portrayal: Dan fails in the conquest (1:34–35); the Danite hero, Samson, is both dangerous and unpredictable (Judg 13–16); and, in the final story, the tribe is described as stealing an idol of cast metal, along with an ephod and a teraphim, as Dan migrated from Zorah and Eshtaol to establish its own form of idolatry at Laish (that is, Dan; Judg 18). All of these stories feed into the negative portrayal of Dan in the larger literary design of the Deuteronomistic History. In the book of Joshua (19:40–46, 48), by contrast, the negative evaluation of Dan is absent. Joshua simply describes the region of Dan as the western frontier of Judah; no mention is made of a failed conquest or of a northern migration. Joshua also lacks any reference to a distinctive form of worship that might be associated with Dan.

The neutral description of the region of Dan in Joshua and the absence of any reference to northern Dan are noteworthy given the prominence of its northern location in the Hebrew Bible. The portrayal of Dan in Joshua does not correspond to its portrayal in the Deuteronomistic History. The absence may represent the author's rejection of the central role of Jerusalem as the basis for the southern critique of northern religion in the histories of the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler. The absence of northern Dan may also reflect the rejection of the northern tradition of worship at Bethel and at Dan, since this tradition conflicts with the author of Joshua's identification of Ebal and Gerizim at Shechem as the central cultic location of the twelve tribes (8:30–35). The destruction of Bethel in the MT version of the battle against Ai (8:17) reinforces this interpretation (see Dozeman, 2019a: 105–20).

Joshua 19:47 (MT; LXX 19:47b–48) is an editorial addition that creates a bridge to the portrayal of Dan in Judges. The MT version states that Dan lost the western frontier ("when the territory of the sons of Dan went out from them"), which caused the tribe to migrate north to Leshem-Dan, thus linking the southern and northern locations of Dan as in Judg 18. The LXX includes the critical evaluation of Dan from the account of its failed conquest in Judg 1:34–35. The LXX states that Dan failed to conquer the Amorites (LXX 19:47b), which contrasts to Judah's successful conquest of Lachish (LXX 19:48). Both additions harmonize the literary relationship between the books of Joshua and of Judges in distinct ways, suggesting ongoing inner-biblical interpretation well into the Hellenistic period.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The distribution of land to the six tribes in Josh 19 is undertaken in relationship to Judah and to the sons of Joseph. Judah is central to the allotment of Simeon and Dan. In each case, the allotment is made up of place-names, without borders. Each allotment reduces the territory of Judah in creating the western and the southern frontiers. The creation of the four northern frontier regions is related to the sons of Joseph, specifically West Manasseh, whose northern borders are not established. The relationship of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali to the sons of Joseph is more complex. The northern frontiers may introduce a border to West Manasseh, as is the case with Sarid in Zebulun. But they may also describe locations for northern expansion, as with Asher, where West Manasseh already occupies cities. The description of Issachar with only place-names provides the closest parallel to the southern and western frontiers, since it is also limited to place-names without borders. But the relationship of Issachar to West Manasseh is opposite that of Simeon and Dan to Judah, since the place-names of Issachar are not taken from the territory of the sons of Joseph. Instead, they provide the opportunity for the expansion of West Manasseh, which already occupies some of the cities.

Joshua 19:49–51 provides a conclusion to the distribution of land to all of the western tribes; it reaches back to the introduction in 13:1–7. The central motif in 19:49–51 is the "completion" (*kālâ*) of the distribution of land. The motif frames the unit, appearing at the outset, "when they (the Israelites) had completed inheriting the land" (19:49a), and it returns in the closing formula, "they completed dividing the land" (19:51b). The formula echoes other significant events of completion, such as the creation, "the heavens and the earth were completed" (Gen 2:1), and the construction of the tabernacle, "Moses completed the work" (Exod 40:33). The frame (Josh 19:49a, 51b) also ties back to the previous introductions by repeating the motifs of "inheritance" and the "division" of the land (e.g., 13:7; 14:1, 2, 5; 18:2, 4). The repetition of these motifs, in combination with the closing formula, marks the conclusion of the distribution of land to the nine and one-half western tribes. In the original form of the book of Joshua, the notice of completion was followed immediately by the notice of peace in the land in 21:43–45, which has been displaced to its present position with the insertions of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities in Josh 20–21 (see the "Composition" to Josh 20–21).

Cities of Refuge and Levitical Cities (20:1–21:45)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 20–21 shifts the focus from Joshua and the twelve tribes to the Levitical families in order to describe the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities within the tribal territories. Joshua 20 lists the six cities of refuge, of which three are located on each side of the Jordan River; Josh 21 identifies the forty-eight Levitical cities distributed throughout the twelve tribes. All of the six cities of refuge are among the forty-eight Levitical cities, intertwining Josh 20 and 21 into a single literary unit within the book of Joshua. The focus on the cities introduces into the book of Joshua the Aaronide priesthood, who were absent in the previous conquest of the land (Josh 1–12) and in the allotment of the tribal territories (Josh 13–19). The section begins with an inner-biblical reference to Num 35:1–8, when the Deity commands Joshua to select cities of refuge and Levitical cities to fulfill the earlier command to Moses on the plains of Moab. The allocation of the cities of refuge (20:1–9) and the Levitical cities (21:1–42) concludes by underscoring the fulfillment of the divine promise of land to the ancestors (21:43–45). Joshua 20–21 may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Cities of Refuge (20:1–9)
   A. Divine Command (20:1–6)
   B. Selection of Cities (20:7–8)
   C. Refuge for Israelites and the Resident Alien (20:9)
2. Levitical Cities (21:1–42)
   A. Levitical Claim to Cities (21:1–3)
   B. Number of Cities (21:4–7)
   C. Location of Cities (21:8–40)
      (1) Kohathite (21:9–26)
         a. Aaronide (21:9–19)
         b. Non-Aaronide (21:20–26)
      (2) Gershonite (21:27–33)

      (3) Merarite (21:34–40)
   D. Summary (21:41–42)
3. Rest in the Land (21:43–45)

Translation

20:1–9. CITIES OF REFUGE

20 [1]And Yahweh spoke to Joshua saying, [2]"Speak to the Israelites, saying, 'Give yourselves cities of refuge as I spoke to you by the hand of Moses, [3]so that any killer who strikes a human inadvertently without intention may flee there. [4]And he will flee to one of these cities. And he will stand at the door of the gate of the city. And he will speak in the ears of the elders of that city his words. And they will gather him into the city to themselves. And they will give him a place and he will dwell with them. [5]And if the redeemer of blood is pursuing after him, they will not deliver the killer into his hand, because he struck his neighbor inadvertently, and he did not hate him in the past. [6]And he will dwell in that city until he stands before the congregation for judgment, until the death of the high priest who lives in those days. Then the killer will return and enter his city, to his house, to the city from where he fled.'"

[7]And they sanctified Kedesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the hill country of Judah. [8]And across the Jordan, east of Jericho, then gave Bezer in the wilderness on the plain from the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead from the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan of the tribe of Manasseh.

[9]These are the cities of meeting for all the Israelites and for the resident aliens who reside in their midst. All who struck to death a human inadvertently were able to flee there, so that he might not die by the hand of the redeemer of blood, until he stood before the congregation.

21:1–42. LEVITICAL CITIES

21 [1]The heads of the fathers of the Levites approached Eleazar the priest and Joshua son of Nun and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the Israelites. [2]And they spoke to them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, "Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in and their pastureland for our cattle." [3]And by the command of Yahweh, the Israelites gave the Levites from their inheritance these cities and their pastureland.

[4]The lot went out to the families of the Kohathites. And the Levites who were sons of Aaron, the priest, received thirteen cities by lot from the tribe of Judah, from the tribe of Simeon, and from the tribe of Benjamin. [5]To the remaining families of the Kohathites there were ten cities by lot from the tribe of Ephraim, from the tribe of Dan, and from the half-tribe of Manasseh.

[6]To the Gershonites there were thirteen cities by lot from the families of the tribe of Issachar, from the tribe of Asher, from the tribe of Naphtali, and from the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan.

[7]To the Merarites according to their families there were twelve cities from the tribe of Reuben, from the tribe of Gad, and from the tribe of Zebulun.

[8]And the Israelites gave the Levites these cities and their pasturelands by lot as Yahweh commanded by the hand of Moses.

[9]And they gave from the tribe of Judah and from the tribe of Simeon these cities, which were called by name. [10]To the sons of Aaron from the families of the Kohathites from the Levites, because to them was the first lot. [11]And they gave to them Kiriath-arba (Arba was the father of Anak), that is Hebron in the hill country of Judah and its surrounding pasturelands. [12]But the fields of the city and its towns they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh into his property. [13]To the sons of Aaron the priest they gave the city of refuge of the killer, Hebron and its pasturelands, Libnah and its pasturelands, [14]Jattir and its pasturelands, Eshtemoa and its pasturelands, [15]Holon and its pasturelands, Debir and its pasturelands, [16]Ain and its pasturelands, Juttah and its pasturelands, Beth-shemesh and its pasturelands, nine cities from these tribes.

[17]And from the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon and its pasturelands, Geba and its pasturelands, [18]Anathoth and its pasturelands, Almon and its pasturelands, four cities.

[19]All the cities of the sons of Aaron the priest were thirteen cities and their pasturelands.

[20]To the families of the sons of Kohath, the remaining Levites from the sons of Kohath, the cities of their allotment were from the tribe of Ephraim. [21]And they gave to them the city of refuge of the killer, Shechem and its pasturelands in the hill country of Ephraim, Gezer and its pasturelands, [22]Kibzaim and its pasturelands, Beth-horon and its pasturelands, four cities.

[23]And from the tribe of Dan, Elteke and its pasturelands, Gibbethon and its pasturelands, [24]Aijalon and its pasturelands, Gath-rimmon and its pasturelands, four cities.

[25]And from the half-tribe of Manasseh, Taanach and its pasturelands, Gath-rimmon and its pasturelands, two cities.

[26]All the cities to the families of the remaining sons of Kohath were ten and their pasturelands.

[27]To the sons of Gershon from the families of the Levites from the half-tribe of Manasseh, the city of refuge of the killer, Golan in Bashan and its pasturelands, Beeshterah and its pasturelands, two cities.

[28]From the tribe of Issachar, Kishion and its pasturelands, Daberath and its pasturelands, [29]Jarmuth and its pasturelands, En-gannim and its pasturelands, four cities.

[30]From the tribe of Asher, Mishal and its pasturelands, Abdon and its pasturelands, [31]Helkath and its pasturelands, Rehob and its pasturelands, four cities.

[32]From the tribe of Naphtali, the city of refuge of the killer, Kedesh in Galilee and its pasturelands, Hammoth-dor and its pasturelands, Kartan and its pasturelands, three cities.

[33]All the cities of the Gershonites according to their families was thirteen cities and their pasturelands.

[34]To the families of the sons of the Merarites of the remaining Levites was given from the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam and its pasturelands, Kartah and its pasturelands, [35]Dimnah and its pasturelands, Nahalal and its pasturelands, four cities.

[36]From the tribe of Reuben, Bezer and its pasturelands, Jahzah and its pasturelands, [37]Kedemoth and its pasturelands, Mephaath and its pasturelands, four cities.

[38]From the tribe of Gad, the city of refuge of the killer, Ramoth in Gilead and its pasturelands, Mahanaim and its pasturelands, [39]Heshbon and its pasturelands, Jazer and its pasturelands, four cities in all.

[40]All the cities for the sons of Merari, according to their remaining families from the families of the Levites, their allotment was twelve cities.

[41]All the cities of the Levites within the property of the Israelites was forty-eight cities and their pasturelands. [42]These cities are each with its pasturelands around it, thus it was with all of these cities.

21:43–45. REST IN THE LAND

21 [43]And Yahweh gave to Israel all the land that he swore to give to their fathers. And they took possession of it and they dwelled in it. [44]And Yahweh gave them rest all around according to all that he swore to their fathers. And no one from all of their enemies was able to stand before them. And Yahweh gave all of their enemies into their hand. [45]Not a word fell from each good word that Yahweh spoke to the house of Israel. All came to pass.

Notes

The MT and the LXX contain a series of contrasts throughout Josh 20–21. The MT of Josh 20 is significantly longer than in the LXX. Nelson (1997: 228) stated the judgment of most interpreters that the longer MT version represents a later expansion of the shorter LXX. The reason for asylum in 20:3 provides an example. In the LXX, asylum is possible when a killing occurs "inadvertently" (*akousiōs*, 20:3). The MT expands the rationale to include actions that are not only "inadvertent" (*bišgāgâ*) but also "without intention" (*biblî-dāʿat*). Another example is the description of the flight of the killer to a city of refuge in 20:4–5. The MT includes more detail concerning the procedures by which a killer seeks refuge, undergoes trial, and obtains release from a city of refuge. The expansions are so significant that Soggin (1972: 197) judged the entire section of 20:4–6 to be absent from the LXX. The same conclusion is reflected in the Rahlfs edition of the LXX. I depart from this conclusion, arguing that the LXX includes the core content of MT 20:4–5 and that MT 20:6 follows the Priestly account of the cities of refuge from the book of Numbers, which also includes the high priest (Num 35:25, 28). But this interpretation does not change the central insight that the MT represents a significant expansion of the LXX. The expansion of the MT over the LXX continues in 20:8, according to Auld (1998: 41), who concluded that the phrase "east of Jericho," or at least the word "east," in the MT is a "typical expansion."

The differences between the MT and the LXX in Josh 20 indicate the dynamic relationship between textual and literary criticisms. The LXXB of Josh 20 includes many motifs from Num 35:9–34, including the description of Joshua establishing the cities after entry into the land (Josh 20:7–8, Num 35:13–15), the characterization of unintentional killing as being "inadvertent" (Josh 20:3, Num 35:11), the trial of the killer before the congregation (Josh 20:3, Num 35:12), and the interpretation of the cities of refuge as havens from the avenger until the killer is able to stand trial before the assembly. The MT contains additional motifs from the Deuteronomistic account of the cities of refuge (Deut 4:41–43 and 19:1–13). It clarifies that inadvertent action is "without intention" (Josh 20:3; Deut 4:42, 19:4) and that the procedures for trial take place before the elders (Josh 20:4, Deut 19:12). The MT also redefines the role of the city of refuge from a place of asylum while awaiting trial to a place of detention until the death of the high priest (20:6). The MT expansions, according to Rofé (1985), weave the Priestly and the Deuteronomistic interpretations of the cities of refuge together, even though the combination creates literary tension concerning the procedures for the trial of the killer. Tov (2015: 140–42) concluded the longer MT indicated a different recension from the LXX.

Contrasts between the MT and the LXX continue into the account of the Levitical cities in Josh 21, this time with the MT containing a shorter text. The LXX provides transition to the east side of the Jordan River with an additional phrase, "And beyond the Iordan opposite Iericho from the tribe of Rouben" (21:36), as compared to the shorter MT, "From the tribe of Reuben." The LXX adds the further description of the city of Bezer in 21:36 as a city of refuge, which is lacking in the MT. The LXX also includes a significant expansion in 21:42. The MT concludes the section on the Levitical cities with a short summary: "These cities are each with its pasturelands around it. Thus, it is with all of these cities." The LXX contains an addition, including a summary conclusion of the division of the land (21:42a), the gift of the city of Thamnasarach to Joshua (21:42b), the notice that Joshua rebuilt the city and dwelled in it (21:42c), and the statement that Joshua stored the flint knives of circumcision in his city (21:42d).

20:1 *And Yahweh spoke to Joshua.* This is the last divine address to Joshua in the book (see the "Comments" to Josh 13). The speech is signaled with the Hebrew verb *dābar,* "to speak," as compared with the expected verb *'āmar,* "to say" (e.g., Josh 1:1; 3:7; 4:1, 15; 5:9; 6:2; 7:10; 8:1, 18; 10:8; 11:6; 13:1). The LXX reflects the distinction in the MT, translating the instances of the Hebrew *'āmar* with *legō* (*eipa*) and the one instance of *dābar* (20:1) with *laleō* (*elalēsen*). The use of the verb *dābar* corresponds to the Priestly account of the cities of refuge in Num 35:9, suggesting an inner-biblical relationship between the two texts; see the review by Auld (2005: 200) on the use of *dābar* in Joshua.

20:2 *Give yourselves.* The Hebrew *tĕnû lākem* describes the transfer of the cities from the possession of the tribes to their new function as cities of refuge. The verb "to give" in Josh 20:2 contrasts with Num 35:11, which employs the Hiphil of *qārâ,* "to choose": *wĕhiqrîtem lākem 'ārîm 'ārê miqlāṭ,* "You will choose for yourselves cities to be cities of refuge." The LXX, *dote,* "give," lacks the Hebrew *lākem,* "yourselves."

cities of refuge. The Hebrew *'ārê hammiqlāṭ* derives from the root *qlṭ* II, meaning "to take in" or "to accept." The LXX translates *tas poleis tōn phugadeutēriōn,* "the cities of banishment/exile/refuge." The phrase is limited to the Priestly description of the cities of refuge in Num 35, the related account in Josh 20, and the summary in 1 Chr 6:42, 52, suggesting a relationship among these texts. Auld (1998: 37–48) argued that the phrase may have had a broader meaning in 1 Chr 6:42, 52 to designate Levitical cities in general, since it appears in the heading for an extended list of cities. Joshua 20:2 has a more restricted meaning of asylum, perhaps under the influence of Deut 4:42 and 19:3, which describe the function of the cities as "locations where killers may flee" (*lānûs šāmâ rôṣēăḥ*) without the phrase *'ārê hammiqlāṭ.*

by the hand of Moses. The Hebrew *bĕyad-mōšeh,* "by the hand of Moses," is translated in the LXX *dia mōusē,* "through Moses." The text refers specifically to Num 35:5; the other related texts in Exod 21:13, Deut 4:41–43, and Deut 19:1–13 do not include the reference to Moses.

20:3 *so that any killer.* The Hebrew *rôṣēăḥ* often means "murderer." The Decalogue provides illustration: *lō' tirṣāḥ,* "You shall not murder" (Exod 20:13). The translation of the Hebrew participle as "killer" is meant to convey that *rôṣēăḥ* does not mean "murderer" in Josh 20:3; the act of killing lacks intention. The LXX *phoneuō* carries the same range of meanings as the Hebrew, indicating both murder (*ou phoneuseis,* Exod 20:13) and unintentional killing (*phoneutei,* Josh 20:3).

inadvertently without intention. The Hebrew *bišgāgâ biblî-da'at* is a combination of two terms that designate lack of intention in killing a human or in committing a range of potentially criminal acts. The Hebrew *šegāgâ,* "inadvertent," relates Josh 20 to the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch, where it is used to indicate sin committed by mistake either in the context of the cult (e.g., Num 15:25; Lev 4:2, 22) or in a legal context outside of the cult (e.g., Num 35:11, Josh 20:3). The phrase *biblî-da'at,* "without intention," relates Josh 20 to Deuteronomy where the phrase twice indicates unintentional killing in the description of the cities of refuge (e.g., Deut 4:42, 19:4). The LXX departs from the MT by describing the act of unintentional killing with one term, *akousiōs,* "inadvertent," which is also used to translate the Priestly term *šegāgâ* in Num 35:11: *pas ho pataxas psuchēn akousiōs,* "all who kill a person inadvertently." The LXX translation of the Hebrew *biblî-da'at* in Deuteronomy is *ouk eidōs,* "not knowing." This phrase is absent in the LXX of Josh 20:3. The LXX may present an instance in which its translator has shortened the MT for stylistic reasons, but the MT more likely represents a late and expanded composition that weaves together language about the cities of refuge from the book of Deuteronomy and the Priestly literature (Rofé, 1985).

20:4–6 *And he will flee . . . from where he fled.* The MT and LXXB diverge in these verses. Soggin (1972: 197) concluded that MT 20:4–6 is "lacking in the LXX, and [has] all the appearance of an interpretative interpolation [in the MT]." He echoes the earlier judgment of Holmes (1914: 71), who also favored the LXX as the more original text. But comparison indicates a more subtle relationship between these textual traditions. Nelson (1997: 227) suggested a parallel between the LXX "until he stands before the congregation for judgment" (20:3 in the Rahlfs edition of the LXX) and the MT "until he stands before the congregation" (20:6 of the MT), which suggests that MT 20:4–6 is not absent from the LXX, at least with regard to v. 6. The additions in the MT are complex, following parts of Deut 4:32, 19:11–12 (e.g., the motif of fleeing to a city of refuge; the hearing of the case by the elders) and parts of Num 35:25 (e.g., the protection of the murderer until the death of the high priest). The consensus among interpreters is that the earliest version of Josh 20 in the LXXB follows the Priestly account of the cities of refuge in Num 35:9–28 and that the additions in the MT include motifs from Deut 19:1–13. Table 8 indicates points of comparison and contrast between the LXX and MT.

The LXX parallels MT 20:4–6 in its basic content. Each textual tradition notes (1) the function of the city as a place of asylum, (2) the restriction on bloodguilt in the city, and (3) the need for the killer to stand trial. The parallels indicate that the LXX is not absent from MT 20:4–6 but that it includes the core material. The comparison

Table 8. MT and LXX versions of Josh MT 20:4–6 and LXX 20:3b

MT Josh 20:4–6	*LXX Josh 20:3b (Rahlfs)*
[4]And he will flee to one of these cities. And he will stand at the door of the gate of the city. And he will speak in the ears of the elders of that city his words. And they will gather him into the city to themselves. And they will give him a place and he will dwell with them.	And the cities will be for you refuge.
[5]And if the redeemer of blood is pursuing after him, they will not deliver the killer into his hand, because he struck his neighbor inadvertently, and he did not hate him in the past.	And the killer will not die by the next of kin in blood,
[6]And he will dwell in that city until he stands before the congregation for judgment, until the death of the high priest who lives in those days. Then the killer will return and enter his city, to his house, to the city from where he fled.	until he stands before the congregation for judgment.

clarifies that the MT has expanded each of the three points, adding information on (1) the procedure of how the killer enters the city of refuge (20:4), (2) the reason why blood vengeance is restricted (20:5), and (3) the process of release from the city of refuge (20:6). The expansions create confusion with regard to the process by which the killer undergoes a trial in 20:4–6. In the LXX, the flow of the narrative is clear: The killer enters the city, and bloodguilt is suspended until there is a trial. The MT of 20:4–5 suggests that some form of trial has already taken place, which makes the reference to the trial in 20:6 awkward. The reference to the high priests in the MT of 20:6 suggests that the textual development is not simply in one direction with the expansion of the MT.

20:4 *And he will flee to one of these cities.* The imagery of fleeing in the Hebrew clause *wĕnās ʾel-ʾaḥat mēhe'ārîm hā'ēlleh* is absent in the LXX. The MT reflects the language of Deut 4:42, *lānûs šāmmâ rôṣēāḥ,* "to which a killer can flee" (see also Deut 19:5, 11).

And he will stand at the door of the gate of the city. Absent in the LXX.

the elders of that city. The Hebrew *ziqnê-hā'îr hahî'* reflects language from Deuteronomy, where the phrase "elders of his city," *ziqnê 'îrô,* appears in Deut 19:12 (see also 21:3, 4; 22:15–18). The phrase is absent in Priestly literature, where the term *ziqnê hā'ēdāt,* "elders of the assembly" (Lev 4:15), is preferred (Rofé, 1985: 135).

And they will give him a place. The Hebrew *māqôm,* "place," most likely means a room in the city. The same word in the law of the altar of asylum (Exod 21:13) indicates a cultic site: "I establish a place (*māqôm*) to which the killer may flee"; Exod 21:14 identifies the place as an altar (*mizbēāḥ*). The imagery in Josh 20:4 does not appear to be cultic.

20:5 *the redeemer of blood.* The Hebrew *gōʾēl* means "to redeem." The redemption can be legal as in recovering sold property (Lev 25:33), or in creating progeny as in the levirate law (Gen 30:1). The present text describes the redemption of a relative's blood, *gōʾēl haddām,* through the death of the killer, hence the frequent translation "the avenger of blood" (e.g., NRSV). The translation "redeemer of blood" accentuates the religious background of the custom, in which the accounting of the shedding of blood is a cultic obligation (see Milgrom, 1981). The cultic background to the practice of bloodguilt underscores the religious function of the cities of refuge, which may be emphasized in the MT (see the "Notes" to 20:7). The phrase "redeemer of blood" is absent in the LXX and replaced with the kinship term *tou agchisteuontos to haima,* "the relative of blood."

inadvertently. See the "Notes" to 20:3.

and he did not hate him. The same language appears in Deut 19:4–11.

20:6 *until the death of the high priest.* Absent in the LXX. The reference to the high priest appears in the Priestly version of the cities of refuge in Num 35:25, 28. The presence of this motif in the MT and not in the LXX cautions against interpreting the LXX as the original form of Josh 20 on the basis of the Priestly version of the cities of refuge (Num 35:9–28) and the MT as an expansion to include the account of the cities of refuge from the book of Deuteronomy (19:1–13).

20:7 *they sanctified.* The Israelites ("they") are described as establishing the cities of refuge. The Hebrew *wayyaqdišû,* "sanctify," is unique among the different versions of the cities of refuge. The other accounts describe the establishment of the cities of refuge in a variety of ways, but not as a process of sanctification: Exod 21:13 employs the verb *śîm,* "to place" or "to appoint," in a first-person divine speech, "I will appoint (*wĕśimtî)* for you a place." The Priestly account in Num 35:11 employs the word *qārâ* in the Hiphil, "to choose," as a command from Moses to the people, "you will select (*wĕhiqrîtem*) cities." Deuteronomy 4:41 employs the verb *bādal,* "to set apart," to describe the action of Moses, "then Moses set apart (*yabdîl*) three cities." The LXX of Josh 20:7 has *diesteilen,* "he separated," referring to Joshua as the person who established the cities, which corresponds to the account of Moses setting apart the cities of refuge in Deut 4:41. Many interpret the MT use of "sanctified" as a textual corruption. Auld (1998: 40) argued that the MT reference to "sanctification," *qādaš,* was a corruption of the verb *qārâ,* "to choose" or "to set apart"; in this case the corrected version of the MT would correspond to the Priestly account in Num 35:11, where the Israelites "set apart" cities of refuges (see also Nelson, 1997: 227; Fritz, 1994: 202). H. N. Rösel (2011: 326) interpreted the use of the Hebrew verb *qādaš* as a *figura etymologica* with the following name *qedeš,* noting the change in v. 8 to the verb *nātan,* "to give," to describe the cities of refuge east of the Jordan River. Butler (2014a: 192) favored the MT; he concluded that the LXX "separated" is assimilating Josh 20:7 to Num 35.

Kedesh. See the "Notes" to 12:22.

Galilee. The Hebrew *gālîl* designates the northernmost region of the tribal territory in the book of Joshua. The region extends northward to Litani, east to the Jordan River, and west to the coastal plains. The area occurs only infrequently in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Josh 20:7, 21:32; 1 Kgs 9:1; 2 Kgs 15:29; 1 Chr 6:61; and Isa 8:23; see also 1 Macc 11:63 and Tob 1:2). The two references to Galilee in the book of Joshua are limited to the identification of the city of refuge Kedesh (Josh 20:7, 21:32). The LXX translates *galilaia.*

Shechem. See the "Notes" to 17:7.

Kiriath-arba. See the "Notes" to 14:15.

Hebron. See the "Notes" to 10:3.

20:8 *across the Jordan.* See the "Notes" to 1:14.

east of Jericho. The Hebrew *yĕrîḥô mizrāḥâ* is awkward in the MT; it is absent in the LXX.

Bezer. The Hebrew *beṣer* may mean "inaccessible place." The city is located on the eastern side of the Jordan. It is mentioned in the Mesha Inscription as a city destroyed and rebuilt by King Mesha (*ANET* 320–21). Bezer appears four times in the Hebrew Bible and twice in the book of Joshua as a city of refuge (20:8) and as a Levitical city (21:36). Outside of Joshua, Bezer is identified again as a city of refuge in Deut 4:43 and as a Levitical city in 1 Chr 6:63 (Eng. 6:78).

wilderness. See the "Notes" to 1:4.

Ramoth. The Hebrew *rāmōt* means "high place." The city occurs twice in the book of Joshua (20:8, 21:38). The site is unidentified by historical geographers.

Gilead. See the "Notes" to 12:2.

Golan. The Hebrew *gôlān* means "enclosure." The location occurs once in the book of Joshua as a city of refuge in Manasseh (20:8). It reappears in the account of the cities of refuge in Deut 4:43; 1 Chr 6:56 (Eng. 6:71) lists Golan as a Levitical city.

Bashan. See the "Notes" to 9:10.

20:9 *the cities of meeting.* The Hebrew *ʿārê hammûʿādâ* is used in place of the expected *ʿārê hammiqlāṭ* from v. 1. The LXX translates *hai poleis hai epiklētoi,* "the appointed cities."

for all the Israelites. The LXX lacks "all."

until he stood before the congregation. The LXX adds "for judgment."

21:1 *The heads of the fathers.* The MT *rōʾšê ʾăbôt* occurs twice in v. 1: as the description (1) of the leaders of the Levites, *rōʾšê ʾăbôt halwiyyim,* "the heads of the fathers of the Levites," and (2) of the tribes, *rōʾšê ʾăbôt hammaṭṭôt,* "the heads of the fathers of the tribes." The LXX provides a distinct translation for each. It includes the addition *tōn huiōn,* "sons of," to describe the leaders of the Levites, *hoi archipatriōtai tōn huiōn leui,* "the chiefs of the sons of Levi." Moatti-Fine (1996: 213) interpreted the word *archipatriōtai* as a neologism meaning "paternal lineage leaders," with only one other occurrence in Dan 3:27. The tribal leaders are translated *tous archiphulous patriōn ek tōn phulōn israēl,* "the clan chiefs from the tribes of Israel."

21:2 *Shiloh.* See the "Notes" to 18:1.

the land of Canaan. See the "Notes" to 3:10.

their pastureland. The Hebrew *ûmigrĕšêhen* designates the belt of land that lies outside the wall of a city (*HALOT* 546). Auld (1998: 54) noted that the thirteen occurrences of *perisporia* are concentrated at the outset (21:2, 3, 8, 11) and at the conclusion (21:34–42) of the chapter; while *aphorismena,* "to mark off, to set apart," is employed thirty-five times in the central section (21:13–33), raising the question of whether Josh 21:2–11, 13–33, and 34–42 represent stages of composition (see also Delekat, 1964: 13–23).

from their inheritance. The MT *minnaḥălātām* refers to the inheritance of the other tribes as the source for the Levitical cities. The LXX *en tōi kataklēronomein,* "in the deeding of property," refers instead to the process of the rightful possession of the Levites to their cities. The expression in the LXX is puzzling. Auld (2005: 203) writes, "it neither corresponds to the MT (different preposition at beginning followed by noun and suffix at end) nor has it a ready parallel in Gk."

21:4 *to the families of the Kohathites.* The Hebrew *mišpĕḥōt,* "families," is translated in the LXX as singular, *dēmōi,* "clan" or "family." The singular form of *demos* repeats in LXX 21:10, 34, with the plural form representing *mišpĕḥōt* in LXX 21:7, 20, 26, 33, 40. The parallel account of the Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6:39–66 (Eng. 6:54–81) tends to follow the LXX of Josh 21.

21:5 *To the remaining families of the Kohathites.* The Hebrew *mimmišpĕḥōt,* "from the families," is absent in the LXX. MT Josh 21 contains four references to "families" that are absent in LXX Josh 21 (21:5, 6, 7, 40; 1 Chr 6:39–66 follows LXX Josh 21). Auld (1998: 55–57) concluded that the use of *mišpĕḥôt* in MT Josh 21 is more regular (less varied) because it represents a later process of standardization from LXX Josh 21 and 1 Chr 6:39–66.

21:6 *thirteen cities by lot.* The Hebrew *bagôrāl,* "by lot," is absent in the LXX.

from the families of the tribe of Issachar. The Hebrew *mišpĕḥôt,* "from the families," is absent in the LXX. See the "Notes" to 21:5.

21:9 *And they gave.* The MT *wayyitnû,* "they gave," lacks a specific subject, suggesting an action by the entire Israelite nation, as is the case in v. 8. The LXX employs a singular verb, *edōken,* "he gave."

from the tribe of Judah and from the tribe of Simeon. The MT refers to Judah and Simeon as the regions from which cities were taken. The LXX makes Judah and Simeon the subject of the singular verb "he gave": "and the tribe of the sons of Judah, the tribe of the sons of Simeon—and from the tribe of the sons of Beniamin—gave." The LXX also includes Benjamin, *kai apo tēs phulēs huiōn Beniamin,* but the genitive construction separating Benjamin from Judah and from Simeon is difficult to interpret. The parallel in 1 Chr 6:50 (Eng. 6:65) also includes Benjamin, as in the LXX, but it follows the syntax of the MT by referring to Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin as the land of allotted cities. Comparison indicates inner-biblical revision, but the direction is difficult to determine.

which were called by name. The MT *ʾăšer-yiqrāʾ ʾethen bĕšēm* suggests that Joshua identified the cities of the Levites. Noth (1971b: 124) read the verb as a Niphal, *yiqqāraʾ,* with impersonal meaning, "which were called by name." The LXX *epeklēthēsan,* "and they were called," would support the reading of Noth. Auld (2005: 204) wrote of the Greek: "the sense is taken here as 'called out as belonging to.'" The syntax of LXX 21:9–10 supports the reading of Auld: the end of v. 9, "and they were called out," is tied directly to the beginning of v. 10, "to the sons of Aaron."

21:10 *from the Levites.* Both the MT and LXX include the identification of the Aaronide priests as Levites, which is absent in the parallel of 1 Chr 6:39 (Eng. 6:54).

because to them was the first lot. The attribution of the "first" lot to the Aaronide priests is a plus in the MT; the LXX simply states *hoti toutois egenēthē ho klēros,* "because to them was the lot." The parallel in 1 Chr 6:39 (Eng. 6:54) follows the MT.

21:11 *And they gave to them Kiriath-arba (Arba was the father of Anak), that is Hebron.* The Hebrew clarifies that the name Kiriath-arba derives from the "father of Anak" and that its contemporary name is Hebron. The LXX identifies Kariatharbok as the *metropolin,* "mother city," of Anak. The parallel text in 1 Chr 6:40 (Eng. 6:55) lacks reference to Kiriath-arba, stating "they gave to them Hebron in the land of Judah."

Kiriath-arba. See the "Notes" to 14:15.

Hebron. See the "Notes" to 10:3.

21:12 *they gave.* The MT *nātĕnû* continues to focus on all of the Israelites in the distribution of the Levitical cities. The LXX identifies Joshua as the one who distributes the cities, *edōken iēsous,* "and Joshua gave." Compare 21:9, where the LXX makes Judah and Simeon the subject of the verb.

into his property. The Hebrew *baʾăḥūzzātô* is absent in the parallel account in 1 Chr 6:41 (Eng. 6:56). Auld (1998: 57) argued that 1 Chr 6:39–66 (Eng. 6:54–81) represents an earlier stage in the account of the Levitical cities than Josh 21, since the absence lacks a clear motive.

21:13 *Aaron the priest.* The LXX lacks the identification of Aaron as "the priest," as does 1 Chr 6:42 (Eng. 6:57).

they gave. The LXX lacks the verb.

Libnah. See the "Notes" to 10:29.

21:14 *Jattir.* See the "Notes" to 15:48.

Eshtemoa. See the "Notes" to 15:50.

21:15 *Holon.* See the "Notes" to 15:51.

Debir. See the "Notes" to 10:38.

21:16 *Ain.* See the "Notes" to 15:32; the LXX has *asa,* "Asa"; 1 Chr 6:44 (Eng. 6:59), *ʿāšān,* "Ashan." Barthélemy (1982: 63) corrects the MT to *ʿāšān,* "Ashan," noting also its presence as a city of Judah in Josh 15:42.

Juttah. See the "Notes" to 15:55; the LXX has *tanu,* "Tanu"; absent in the parallel account in 1 Chr 6:44 (Eng. 6:59).

Beth-shemesh. See the "Notes" to 15:10.

21:17 *Gibeon.* See the "Notes" to 9:3; absent in the parallel account in 1 Chr 6:45 (Eng. 6:60).

Geba. See the "Notes" to 15:57.

21:18 *Anathoth.* The Hebrew *ʿănātôt* is a plural of intensification, meaning "the house of the great Anat (the Canaanite goddess of love and war)" (*HALOT* 660). The site occurs once in the book of Joshua as a Levitical city in Benjamin. Historical geographers identify the ancient city with Ras el-Kharrubeh, a small hill approximately three miles northeast of Jerusalem. Outside of the book of Joshua, Anathoth appears as a priestly city to which Solomon exiled Abiathar (1 Kgs 2:26). It is also the birthplace of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 1:1; see also 32:7–9) and a city to which the exiles return (Ezra 2:23; Neh 7:27, 11:32).

Almon. The Hebrew *ʿalmon* means "small way marker," perhaps indicating some form of monument; it appears only once in Joshua as a city of refuge.

21:19 *and their pasturelands.* Absent in the LXX.

21:20 *the cities of their allotment.* The Hebrew *ʿārê gôrālām* is unusual. The LXX translates *polis tōn horiōn autōn,* "city of their boundaries," which corresponds to the parallel in 1 Chr 6:51 (Eng. 6:66), where the Hebrew reads *ʿārê gĕbûlām,* "cities of boundaries/territories." Auld (1998: 31) argued that 1 Chr 6:51 (Eng. 6:66) reflects the original reading.

21:21 *Shechem.* See the "Notes" to 17:7.

in the hill country of Ephraim. Absent in the LXX.

Gezer. See the "Notes" to 10:33.

21:22 *Kibzaim.* The Hebrew *qibṣayim* derives from the root *qbṣ,* meaning "to gather, collect, assemble." The location is absent in the LXXB; the parallel account of the Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6:53 (Eng. 6:68) gives the name as *yōkmĕʿām,* Jokmeam.

Beth-horon. See the "Notes" to 10:10.

four cities. The LXX includes "four cities," even though it lists three: Suchem, Bazara, and Baithoron.

21:23 *Elteke.* See the "Notes" to 15:59; absent in the Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6.

Gibbethon. See the "Notes" to 19:44; absent in the Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6.

21:24 *Aijalon.* See the "Notes" to 10:12.

Gath-rimmon. See the "Notes" to 19:45.

21:25 *Taanach.* See the "Notes" to 12:21.

Gath-rimmon. The repetition of Gath-rimmon from 21:24 may be a dittography in the MT from the previous verse (Barthélemy, 1982: 63). The LXX writes *iebatha,* "Iebatha"; the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6:55 (Eng. 6:70) identifies the site as Bileam.

21:27 *Golan.* See the "Notes" to 20:8.

Bashan. See the "Notes" to 9:10.

Beeshterah. The Hebrew *bĕʿeštĕrâ* occurs once in the Hebrew Bible as a Levitical city in the territory of Manasseh east of the Jordan River. The account of the Levitical cities in 1 Chr 6:56 identifies Beeshterah as *ʿaštārôt,* "Ashteroth." The identification of Ashteroth in 1 Chr 6:56 may indicate that Josh 21:27 is a prepositional phrase, "in Ashterah" (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 235–36).

21:28 *Kishion.* See the "Notes" to 19:20; the parallel account in 1 Chr 6:57 (Eng. 6:72) writes *kedeš,* "Kedesh."

Daberath. See the "Notes" to 19:12.

21:29 *Jarmuth.* The LXX has *remmath,* "Remmath." The Levitical city in Issachar contrasts to Jarmuth in District II of Judah (15:35). See the "Notes" to 10:3.

En-gannim. See the "Notes" to 15:34; the LXX has *pēgēn grammatōn,* "Fountain of Letters"; 1 Chr 6:58 (Eng. 6:69), *ʿānēm,* "Anem."

21:30 *Mishal.* See the "Notes" to 19:26.

Abdon. See the "Notes" to 19:28.

21:31 *Helkath.* See the "Notes" to 19:25.

Rehob. See the "Notes" to 19:28.

21:32 *Kedesh.* See the "Notes" to 12:22.

Galilee. See the "Notes" to 20:7.

Hammoth-dor. See the "Notes" to 19:31.

Kartan. The Hebrew *qartān* occurs once as a Levitical city in 21:32. Compare the LXX *themmōn,* "Themmon," and 1 Chr 6:61 (Eng. 6:76), *qiryātayim,* "Kiriathaim."

three cities. Absent in 1 Chr 6:61 (Eng. 6:76).

21:33 *thirteen cities.* Absent in 1 Chr 6:61 (Eng. 6:76).

and their pasturelands. Absent in the LXX.

21:34 *Jokneam.* See the "Notes" to 12:22. Compare the LXX *maan,* "Maan," and 1 Chr 6:62 (Eng. 6:77), *rimmônô,* Rimmono.

Kartah. The Hebrew *qartâ* occurs once as a Levitical city in Zebulun (21:34). Compare the LXX *kadās,* "Kadesh," and 1 Chr 6:62 (Eng. 6:77) *tābôr,* "Tabor."

21:35 *Dimnah.* The Hebrew *dimnâ* occurs once as a Levitical city in Zebulun; absent in 1 Chr 6.

Nahalal. See the "Notes" to 19:15. Compare the LXX *sella*, "Sella"; absent in 1 Chr 6:62 (Eng. 6:77).

21:36–37 *From the tribe of Reuben . . . four cities.* The towns in the region of Reuben are missing in the MT, perhaps from haplography triggered by the reference to "four cities" in 21:35 (Nelson, 1997: 236). The translation follows the reconstruction of Barthélemy (1982: 64–66), which includes the cities of Bezer, Jahaz, Kedemoth, and Mephaath, based on LXX Josh 21:36–37, 1 Chr 6:63 (Eng. 6:78), and the reference to Bezer as a city in Josh 20:8.

21:36 *From the tribe of Reuben.* The LXX includes a geographical transition indicating that the identification of Levitical cities is moving from the west side of the Jordan River to the east side, "and beyond the Jordan opposite Jericho."

Bezer and its pasturelands. The LXX provides a more extended identification of the location of the city "in the wilderness of Misor."

Jahzah. See the "Notes" to 13:18.

21:37 *Kedemoth.* See the "Notes" to 13:18.

Mephaath. See the "Notes" to 13:18.

21:38 *Ramoth.* See the "Notes" to 20:8.

Gilead. See the "Notes" to 12:2.

Mahanaim. See the "Notes" to 13:26; LXX *kamin*, "Kamin."

21:39 *Heshbon.* See the "Notes" to 9:10.

Jazer. See the "Notes" to 13:5.

LXX 21:42a–d. The LXX includes an extended section in which three themes are added to the conclusion of the Levitical cities: (1) The notice that Joshua concluded dividing the land: "And Iesous finished dividing the land in their boundaries" (21:42a). In the MT, the completion of land division occurs earlier in 19:51, where the motif is absent in the LXX: "And they proceeded to claim that land." (2) The statement that Israel gave Joshua a city: "And the Israelites gave a portion to Iesous according to the command of the Lord. They gave him the city that he requested. Thamnasarach they gave him in Mount Ephraim. And Iesous built the city and dwelled in it" (21:42b, c). This theme also anticipates 24:30. (3) The notice that Joshua put the swords of stone for circumcision in his city: "And Iesous took the swords of stone with which he circumcised the Israelites born on the way in the desert and he put them in Thamnasarach" (21:42d). The motif of the swords was introduced in the LXX version of the story of circumcision (5:2–3); it returns in the LXX conclusion to the book, when Joshua is buried with the same swords (21:31a).

21:45 *to the house of Israel.* The LXX writes "to the sons of Israel."

Composition

The composition of the cities of refuge (Josh 20) and of the Levitical cities (Josh 21) centers on three broad topics: the literary relationship between Josh 20 and 21, the inner-biblical relationship of Josh 20–21 to Num 35 and Deut 19, and the function of Josh 20–21 within the book of Joshua.

LITERARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOSH 20 AND 21

Interpreters debate whether the cities of refuge (Josh 20) and the Levitical cities (Josh 21) are independent compositions or a single literary unit. The question is complicated because the cities of refuge are not tied to Levitical cities in the history of tradition (Greenberg, 1959; Spencer, 1992a; Rofé, 1986). For example, the cities of refuge in Deut 19:1–13 are not described as Levitical cities (Driver, 1903: 230–33; Nelson, 2002: 236–42), even though cities of refuge and Levitical cities are related in late Priestly literature (Num 35:1–8) and in Chronicles (1 Chr 6:39–66 [Eng. 6:54–81]). Comparison of Josh 20 and 21 suggests that the two chapters are meant to be read together as a single literary unit, even though the texts are composed from distinctive points of focus: The cities of refuge (Josh 20) are organized by geography, and the Levitical cities (Josh 21) by genealogy.

The six cities of refuge are arranged geographically from west to east (20:7–8). The three cities west of the Jordan River (20:7) are arranged from north to south; they progress from Naphtali in the north (Kedesh in Galilee) through Ephraim (Shechem) to Judah in the south (Kiriath-arba, Hebron). The three eastern cities progress in the opposite direction from south to north (20:8); they begin in Reuben (Bezer in the wilderness), move through Gad (Ramoth in Gilead), and end in East Manasseh in the north (Golan in Bashan). The result is a geographical circle that begins and ends in the north on opposite sides of the Jordan River (Table 9).

The aim of the Levitical cities (Josh 21) is to clarify the hierarchy of the three Levitical families in decreasing order of importance, beginning with the Kohathites (21:9–26), then the Gershonites (21:27–33), and finally the Merarites (21:34–40). The six cities of refuge are important to the distribution of the Levitical cities, with each Levitical family receiving two. The inclusion of the cities of refuge within the Levitical cities follows the geographical progression from west to east as in Josh 20, reinforcing the central role of the land west of the Jordan over the more peripheral eastern territory. But the additional pattern in Josh 20 of moving from the north to south is reversed in Josh 21. The reversal allows for the most important Levitical family, the Kohathite Aaronide priests, to be identified with the southern city of Hebron in Judah (21:11) as the first pairing of the cities of refuge with the Levitical families. The subsequent pairings are presented in Table 10.

The table illustrates that the geography of the cities of refuge (Josh 20) and the genealogy of the Levitical families (Josh 21) function in a complementary manner, pairing the Kohathites, Gershonites, and Merarites with two cities each in descending order of importance. Since the Kohathites divide between the descendants of Aaron (21:9–19) and the non-Aaronide members (21:20–26), each group receives one city of refuge: The Aaronide priests, living in Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, occupy Kiriath-arba/Hebron

Table 9. Arrangement of the six cities of refuge

West of Jordan River, north to south	*East of Jordan River, south to north*
1. Kedesh in Galilee, Naphtali	6. Golan in Bashan, East Manasseh
2. Shechem, Ephraim	5. Ramoth in Gilead, Gad
3. Kiriath-arba, Hebron, Judah	4. Bezer in the wilderness, Reuben

Table 10. Pairings of cities of refuge with Levitical cities

West of Jordan River: Cities of refuge; Levitical cities	*East of Jordan River: Cities of refuge; Levitical cities*
1. Kedesh, Naphtali; 3. Gershon	6. Golan, East Manasseh; 4. Gershon
2. Shechem, Ephraim; 2. Kohath—non-Aaronide	5. Ramoth, Gad; 5. Merari
3. Hebron, Judah; 1. Kohath—Aaronide (first)	4. Bezer, Reuben; 6. Merari (last)

(21:11); the non-Aaronides, living farther north in Ephraim, Dan, and West Manasseh, receive Shechem (21:21). The Gershonites, whose northern cities are distributed between East Manasseh and the western tribes of Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, occupy the eastern city of Golan in Bashan (21:27) and the western city of Kedesh in Galilee (21:32). The Merarites, living in Zebulun, Reuben, and Gad, receive the eastern cities of Bezer (21:36) and Ramoth in Gilead (21:38). The pairings accentuate the central role of the Kohathite Aaronide priests in Hebron of Judah. The descending order of the Levitical families includes the Kohathite non-Aaronides who possess Shechem in Ephraim, rather than in West Manasseh. The remaining Levitical families of Gershon and of Merari occupy cities of refuge in the northern and eastern frontier regions of the remaining tribal territories.

Many interpreters have also recognized the close literary ties between the cities of refuge (Josh 20) and the Levitical cities (Josh 21) as a result of the history of composition, although the direction of the inner-biblical influence is debated. Noth (1971b: 123, 127) concluded that the list of the cities of refuge was independent and that it was inserted later into the list of Levitical cities. Albright (1945: 54, 59) argued that the cities of refuge influenced the formation of the Levitical cities and that Hebron and Shechem were added later to the Levitical list, on the basis of historical evaluation. Auld (1978, 1979a, 1990) reversed the direction of influence, arguing that the cities of refuge were taken from the Levitical cities, where each of the six cities of refuge heads a subsection in the longer list of cities. The arguments over the direction of the inner-biblical influence do not account for the interdependent and complementary function of the geographical design between the two texts, which favors an interpretation of Josh 20–21 as a single literary unit within the book of Joshua. The geographical design of the cities of refuge is intended to support the hierarchy of the Levitical families. The aim throughout Josh 20–21 is to emphasize the primary role of the Aaronide priesthood (Ben Zvi, 1992: 81–82). The similar intertwining of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities in the related accounts of Num 35:1–29) and of 1 Chr 6:39–66 (Eng. 6:54–81) reinforces the interpretation of Josh 20–21 as one integrated literary unit.

INNER-BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION: JOSH 20–21, NUM 35, AND DEUT 19

Joshua 20–21 includes motifs from the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities in late Priestly literature (Num 35) and from the cities of refuge in Deuteronomy (19:1–13).

Comparison with Num 35 indicates a variety of shared motifs. The texts function in similar contexts, in which the description of the tribal territory (Num 34, Josh 13–19) precedes the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities (Num 35:1–8; Josh 20–21). Both combine cities of refuge (Num 35:6; Josh 20) and Levitical cities (Num 35:1–5, 6–8; Josh 21). They share language, including "cities to dwell in," *ʿārîm lāšābet* (Num 35:2, Josh 21:2); "pastureland," *migrāš* (Num 35:3, 4, 5, 7; Josh 21:2, 8; see also 14:4); and "refuge," *miqlāṭ* (Num 35:6; Josh 20:2, 3; 21:13, 38). Both number the cities, including six cities of refuge and forty-eight Levitical cities (Num 35:6–7; Josh 20:7–8; 21:41–42). And they share motifs describing the qualification and the process for refuge, including killing that is "inadvertent," *bišgāgâ* (Num 35:11, Josh 20:3); trial before the congregation (Num 35:12, Josh 20:3); and release after the death of the high priest (Num 35:25, MT Josh 20:6).

But there are also differences. Numbers 35 mentions the Levites in general (35:2, 8), along with the high priest (35:25, 28); Josh 20–21 expands the details to include the genealogy of the Levitical families in addition to the reference to the high priests (20:6). Numbers 35:7 specifies the number of Levitical cities as forty-eight without indicating their geographical distribution; Josh 21:9–40 lists each city and its location within the territory of the twelve tribes based on Josh 13–19. Numbers 35:4–5 describes in detail the dimension of the pastureland surrounding the Levitical cities; Josh 21 refers only in general to the pastureland, even when it wishes to distinguish land between Caleb and the Aaronide priests (21:11–12). Numbers 35:8 uses the criterion of tribal size or proportion to determine the number and the location of the Levitical cities; Josh 21 does not state the principle of proportion but follows, instead, the principle of the lot (21:8). And Josh 20 adds motifs describing the qualification and the process for refuge, including killing "without intention," *biblî-dāʿat* (20:3, 5), and a trial before the elders (20:4).

The shared motifs confirm the inner-biblical relationship between Num 35 and Josh 20–21, even though the direction of influence is debated. Noth (1968: 253–56; 1971b: 123–27) represents a common interpretation, in which Num 35 is judged to be dependent on Josh 20–21 (see also Auld, 1980: 79–80; Fritz, 1994: 203–6; Nelson, 1997: 228–29). Noth argued the original form of Num 35:1–8 lacked the reference to the cities of refuge (35:6). The insertion of the cities of refuge (35:6), he reasoned, disrupted the literary context in order to link the Levitical cities (35:1–8) with the following discussion of the cities of refuge (35:9–28), which were previously separate topics in the book of Numbers. Noth further concluded that the general reference to the Levitical cities (35:2, 3, 8) was dependent on the full list of the forty-eight Levitical cities in Josh 21. Nelson (1997: 229) broadened Noth's interpretation, stating all of Num 33:50–35:29 was dependent on Josh 14–21. But questions linger over this interpretation. The late insertion of the cities of refuge in Num 35:6 lacks strong literary support, suggesting that the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities were always combined in Num 35 as they are in Josh 20–21. Also, Josh 20–21 does not appear to be an independent composition from Num 35, as noted, for example, by Achenbach (2003: 594–95).

Joshua 13–19 has consistently used Numbers as a source. This is evident in the material on Caleb (Num 13–14, Josh 14–15), the claim to land of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:1–7, Josh 17:1–6), the description of the eastern tribes (Num 32; Josh 13:8–33), the instruction for dividing the land (Num 33:50–56, Josh 14:1–5), and the description of the boundaries of the land (Num 34, Josh 15). In each case, the author of Joshua reinterprets the source in Numbers to fit the context of the book of Joshua, often expanding the material in the process with geographical detail. The same pattern continues with the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities. Numbers 35 is the source for the main topics in Josh 20–21, including the linking of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities, the number of the cities, the inclusion of pastureland with each city, and the function of the cities of refuge. But Josh 20–21 also expands and reinterprets Num 35, while assuming its content. For example, the detailed explanation of the size of the pastureland around each Levitical city (Num 35:3–4) does not repeat in Josh 20–21, but it is likely assumed in the separation of the property surrounding Hebron between Caleb and the Aaronide priests (21:11–12), accounting for the lack of detail. Examples of expansion in Josh 20–21 include the naming of the six cities of refuge and the forty-eight Levitical cities, as well as their geographical identification throughout the tribal territories based on Josh 13–19. The author of Josh 20–21 also introduces the Levitical families of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari, with an emphasis on the Aaronide priests, which is absent in Num 35. Reinterpretation is evident in the rejection of the principle of tribal size as the criterion for the number and location of Levitical cities (Num 35:8) in favor of the lot (Josh 21:8), as was also the case in Josh 14:1–5 (compare Num 33:50–56).

The shared themes, along with expansions and reinterpretation, indicate the dependence of Josh 20–21 on Num 35. Comparison with Deut 19:1–13 also clarifies that Josh 20–21 underwent revision, especially with regard to the procedures surrounding the cities of refuge (e.g., Rofé, 1985; Auld, 1978). The original composition followed the criteria for refuge from Num 35: Accidental killing was described as "inadvertent" (Josh 20:3, 9; Num 35:11); there was a trial of the killer before the "congregation" (Josh 20:6, Num 35:12); the purpose of the cities was for refuge from the avenger (Josh 20:3, 9; Num 35:12); release occurred upon the death of the high priest (Josh 20:6, Num 35:28); and the cities of refuge were available for Israelites and for resident aliens alike (Josh 20:9, Num 35:15). A later addition introduced selective motifs from Deut 19:1–13 into Josh 20:3–5: Accidental killing was described as "unintentional" (Josh 20:3, Deut 19:4) and as "lacking in enmity" (Josh 20:5; Deut 19:4, 6); and a trial before the "elders" was also introduced (Josh 20:4, Deut 19:12). The additions are likely intended to harmonize the two pentateuchal interpretations of the cities of refuge (Num 35 and Deut 19:1–13), even though the new motifs create confusion in Josh 20 concerning the criteria for determining accidental death, whether it is "inadvertent" or "unintentional," and in the procedure for evaluating the killer, since the trial before the "elders" upon admission into the city (Josh 20:4) makes the trial before the "congregation" in the original version (Josh 20:6, Num 35:12) redundant. The same process of harmonization is evident in the book of Deuteronomy, when the eastern cities of refuge are named (Deut 4:41–43) based on Josh 20:7–8 (see also the "Notes").

The comparison between Num 35 and Deut 19:1–13 indicates at least two stages in the composition of Josh 20. The original form of Josh 20:1–2, 3 (minus "without intent"), 6–9 was based on the Priestly version in Num 35; this account was revised with the insertion of motifs from Deut 19:1–13 (Josh 20:3 ["without intent"], 4–5). The history of composition is reflected partially in the textual versions: The LXXB is restricted to the Priestly version in Num 35, although it lacks reference to the death of the high

priest (Josh 20:6; Num 35:25, 28); while the MT is an expanded text with additions from Deut 19:1–13. The contrasting lists of Levitical cities in the MT of Josh 21, in the LXX of Josh 21, and in 1 Chr 6:39–66 (Eng. 6:54–81) also indicate a continuing history of revision of the place-names well into the Hellenistic period (e.g., Auld, 1979a; Ben Zvi, 1992; Knoppers, 2005; see also the "Notes").

FUNCTION OF JOSH 20–21 IN THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

Joshua 20–21 is an addition to the book of Joshua. It does not correspond to the distribution of the tribal territory in Josh 13–19, nor do the subsequent events in either Josh 23 or Josh 24 indicate any knowledge of the Levitical cities, as noted already by Kuenen (1886: 136). The section is clearly marked off from the preceding allotment of the tribal territory (Josh 13–19) with a new divine command to Joshua (20:1–6). The command is noteworthy, since there are only two in Josh 13–24. The tribal allotment began with the divine command that Joshua apportion the land west of the Jordan to the nine and one-half tribes: "Now divide this land" (13:1a, 7). The fulfillment of the command is confirmed with the notice of completion: "And they completed dividing the land" (19:51b). The introduction (13:1a, 7) and the conclusion (19:51b) indicate that the literary arc of the allotment of the tribal territory is accomplished in Josh 13–19; no further literature on the distribution of land is anticipated. Thus, the new information concerning the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities must be set off with a new divine command: "And Yahweh spoke to Joshua saying" (20:1). The fulfillment is punctuated with its own conclusion: "All the cities of the Levites . . . were forty-eight cities and their pasturelands . . . thus it was with all of these cities" (21:41–42).

Joshua 20–21 contains distinct themes from the larger book in describing the Levites. The themes include the genealogy of the three Levitical families and the prominent role of the Aaronide priesthood, who are located in the southern tribal territories of Judah and Benjamin. The Levites function throughout the book of Joshua. "Levitical priests" carry the ark (e.g., 3:3, 8:33); they are also described in this function simply as "the priests" (e.g., 3:6, 13, 14, 17; 4:3, 9, 10; 6:4, 8, 12, 16). The book of Joshua also notes that the "Levites" (e.g., 14:3, 18:7) and the "tribe of Levi" (e.g., 13:14, 33) are restricted from the allotment of land. The general references to the Levites are similar to those in the book of Deuteronomy, where the "Levites" (e.g., Deut 12:12, 18; 14:27, 29; 16:11, 14; 26:11) and the "Levitical priests" (e.g., Deut 17:9, 18; 18:1; 24:8; 27:9) function without reference to the genealogy of the "Levitical families" (see the "Comments"). In Josh 20–21, the Levites may own land in the form of cities and pastureland; and the Levites are organized by a complex genealogy of "Levitical families," in which the Aaronide priests emerge as a separate class associated with the tribal territories of Judah and Benjamin.

Joshua 20–21 is dependent on Josh 13–19. The twelve-tribe system from Josh 13–19 is formative in the distribution of the cities of refuge. The location of three cities each on the western and eastern sides of the Jordan River is based on the tribal distribution from Josh 13–19, in which nine and one-half tribes live on the west side of the Jordan River and two and one-half on the east. The Levitical cities presuppose the same geographical arrangement of the twelve tribes. The influence of Josh 13–19 on Josh 20–21 is also evident from the many shared locations. Na'aman (1986: 216–27) demonstrated that the author of Josh 20–21 constructed the system of Levitical cities from the locations within the boundary system of the twelve tribes in Josh 13–19, adding that the thirteen cities listed in Judah and Benjamin derived from an independent source document. But with ten of the thirteen cities in Judah/Simeon and in Benjamin listed in Josh 13–19, the locations are better interpreted as deriving from the tribal territories of Judah (Josh 15) and of Benjamin (Josh 18), as is the case with the Levitical cities assigned to the other tribal regions (see also Achenbach, 2003: 595–96). The result is that twenty-nine of the Levitical cities correspond to locations in the tribal territories, with the following distribution throughout the twelve tribes: Judah/Simeon (eight), Benjamin (two), Ephraim (two), Dan (three), West Manasseh (one), East Manasseh (zero), Issachar (three), Asher (three), Naphtali (one), Zebulun (three), Reuben (one), and Gad (two). Fifteen of the Levitical cities are absent from the tribal territories, indicating that the author expanded the list to achieve the number forty-eight under the influence of Num 35. The geographical distribution of the added locations may by summarized in the following manner: Judah/Simeon (one, Eshtemoa), Benjamin (two, Anathoth, Almon), Ephraim (one, Kibzaim), Dan (one, Elteke), West Manasseh (zero), East Manasseh (two, Golan, Beeshterah—see the "Notes"), Issachar (one, Jarmuth), Asher (one, Abdon), Naphtali (two, Hammoth-dor, Kartan), Zebulun (one, Kartah), Reuben (two, Bezer, Jahzah), and Gad (one, Ramoth). The number forty-eight is achieved with the addition of four further Levitical cities that undergo change from Josh 13–19. Heshbon is transferred from Reuben to Gad (13:22, 21:39). The three remaining changes concentrate on Manasseh: Shechem is transferred from West Manasseh to Ephraim (17:2, 7; 21:21); Gath-rimmon appears twice as a city in Dan and in Manasseh (21:24, 25); and Mahanaim is transferred from East Manasseh to Gad (13:30, 21:38).

Comparison of the Levitical cities (Josh 20–21) with the tribal territories (Josh 13–19) indicates that the author of Josh 20–21 has introduced geographical changes. Three changes stand out in the organization of the tribes: First, the tribal territories of Judah and Benjamin are combined to represent the region of the Aaronide priests (21:9–19), resembling the source document of place-names and the settlement distribution of the returnees in Ezra 2 and Neh 11 (see the "Comments" to Josh 15). The combination of Judah and Benjamin contrasts with their clear separation in Josh 13–19 (see the "Comments" to Josh 15, 18). Second, the combination of Ephraim and Manasseh as the one region of the sons of Joseph (Josh 16–17) is minimized. Reference to the "sons of Joseph" is absent, while the tribe of Dan is now included with Ephraim and West Manasseh as the region of the non-Aaronide Kohathites (21:20–26). Third, the large area allotted to Manasseh on the west and the east sides of the Jordan (Josh 13, 16) is reduced to the point where the two halves together receive only four Levitical cities (21:25–27; see Na'aman, 1986: 226; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 331). The devaluation of Manasseh is extended further when Mahanaim in East Manasseh (13:30) is transferred to Gad (21:38), and, more importantly, when Shechem in West Manasseh (17:2, 7) is transferred to Ephraim (20:7, 21:21). In the book of Joshua, Shechem is clearly located in West Manasseh as the central cultic site at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35), and it is also the location for the concluding assembly (Josh 24). The transfer of Shechem to Ephraim suggests a devaluation of Manasseh in the same manner as Judah in Josh 13–19, when the author of Joshua transferred Jerusalem to Benjamin (Josh 15) and reduced the size of Judah by allocating portions of its territory to Simeon, Dan, and Caleb.

The geographical changes to the tribal territories are not the result of scribal mistakes or the author's misinterpretation of Josh 13–19 (e.g., Na'aman, 1986: 225–26; Nelson, 1997: 235). Rather, the changes indicate the southern, pro-Judean point of view of the author, who has inserted Josh 20–21 at the conclusion of the tribal allotment of territory in Josh 13–19. The addition provides a new reading of the tribal territory based on the leadership of the Levitical families, especially the Aaronide priests, and on the central geographical role of Judah-Benjamin, which are rejoined after having been separated in Josh 13–19. The author underscores the new reading by transferring the possession of Hebron from Caleb (14:6–15, 15:13–19) to the Aaronide priests (Hawk, 2000: 222–23). The arrangement of the Levites in the wilderness camp (Num 3:23, 29, 35b), according to Noth (1971b: 132), also influenced the placement of the Levitical cities, with a change in orientation from the east in Num 3 to the south in Josh 21 in order to highlight Judah and Jerusalem.

The geography of Josh 20–21 highlights Judah and Benjamin as the residence of the Aaronide priesthood and as the central territory in the twelve-tribe system. This is a sharp contrast to the distribution of the tribal territory in Josh 13–19, in which the author of Joshua emphasized the region of the sons of Joseph and more specifically Manasseh as the most important tribal representative of the "great people" (17:14, 17). In Josh 20–21, the northern regions of Ephraim, Dan, and West Manasseh are subordinated to the southern areas of Judah and Benjamin as the residence of the non-Aaronide Kohathites. In achieving this geographical transformation, the author also reduced the territory of Manasseh and devalued its significance, so much so that it functions as a minimal region in the allocation of the Levitical cities. The result, according to Noth (1971b: 131), is that there is a "complete lack of locations in the central Palestinian hill country" (author's translation)—an area, he notes further, that corresponds to the postexilic province of Samaria.

Finally, the addition of Josh 20–21 has rearranged the concluding summaries in Josh 13–21. This is evident in the literary context of the fulfillment of rest in the land (21:43–45). Kuenen (1886: 136) rightly noted that this conclusion is not connected to the preceding list of Levitical cities; he stated that the summary originally followed Josh 22:1–6. I argue, instead, that in the original form of the book of Joshua, the summary in Josh 21:43–45 followed the statement of the completion of the distribution of land (19:49–50, 51b) to the tribes in Josh 13–19. The tribal distribution of land in Josh 13–19 concluded with three statements: (1) the notice of Joshua's inheritance (19:49–50); (2) the statement of completion, "and they completed dividing the land" (19:51b); and (3) the fulfillment of the divine promise of rest in the land (21:43–45). The author of Josh 20–21 has placed the statement of rest in the land at the end of Josh 21 to link the Levitical cities (Josh 20–21) more securely with the distribution of the tribal territory (Josh 13–19), even though the two texts conflict in their vision of the tribal territories and in the leadership role of the Aaronide priesthood.

Comments

CITIES OF REFUGE

The cities of refuge are closely related to the Levitical cities in Josh 20–21, but the limited references in the Hebrew Bible to asylum (e.g., Exod 21:12–14; Deut 4:41–43, 19:1–13; Num 35:9–28; Josh 20; and 1 Chr 6) indicate that refuge and the Levitical cities were not always related (Schmidt, 2002b: 103). Places of refuge functioned independently in ancient Israel as a means of addressing the law of "blood revenge," in which the killing of a human had to be avenged by a member of the slain person's family to fulfill the *lex talionis,* "law of retaliation," better known as "an eye for an eye." The law of blood revenge is illustrated in the divine speech to Noah after the flood: "Whoever sheds the blood of a human, by a human shall that person's blood be shed" (Gen 9:6). Greenberg (1959: 127) underscored the absolute nature of the law of blood revenge, which, he noted, created a problem in the case of the unintentional killing of a person, since blood revenge on an innocent person would threaten the Israelite people and perpetuate further blood revenge. Places of refuge addressed the threat by providing asylum for the accidental killer.

Most interpreters judge Exod 21:12–14 to be an early form of the law of asylum. The text briefly distinguishes between premeditated (21:12, 14) and accidental (21:13) killing, and it separates into three parts: (1) Premeditated murder requires the death penalty (21:12); (2) in the case of an accidental killing, a "place" (*māqôm*) is appointed "to which the killer may flee" (21:13); and (3) anyone who committed premeditated murderer and reaches a place of asylum must be removed from the "altar" (*mizbēăḥ*) and executed (21:14). The reference to a "place" of asylum in part two of the law is ambiguous; it often designates a sanctuary or an altar, as in Exod 20:24, but it need not (e.g., Greenberg, 1959: 125; Barmash, 2005: 80), raising the question of whether Exod 21:13 is tied to sanctuaries (e.g., Burnside, 2010: 257–58; Driver, 1903: 232). The third part of the law, in which a murderer falsely seeks asylum, clarifies that refuge is, indeed, tied to sanctuaries, when the murderer is taken "from [the] altar" and executed (e.g., Wellhausen, 1889: 162; Propp, 2006: 210). The linking of the altar and asylum is illustrated in the story of Adonijah, who grasped "the horns of the altar" as refuge from Solomon, whom he feared would kill him (1 Kgs 1:50–53). The story addresses a political threat, rather than the problem of bloodguilt from an accidental killing (Barmash, 2005: 73), yet it also clarifies the role of the altar as a place of asylum. The cities of refuge in Josh 20 are not tied to the law of asylum in Exod 21:12–14; neither sanctuaries nor altars are identified as the source of asylum. The "sanctification" of the cities of refuge in the MT of Josh 20:7 may relate to Exod 21:12–14, if it is intended to introduce a sacred dimension to the Levitical cities. The textual problems surrounding the MT make a firm decision difficult (see the "Notes" to 20:7).

Asylum at the "place" of the "altar" (Exod 21:12–14) is transferred to cities in Deuteronomy (19:1–13) and in late Priestly literature (Num 35:9–28). Comparison clarifies that the two texts diverge in the identification of the cities, the scope of the law, the purpose of the cities, the interpretation of bloodguilt, the definition of unintentional killing, and the duration of residency (e.g., Nicolsky, 1930; Rofé, 1985, 1986; Mattison, 2018).

Deuteronomy 19:1–13 is an inner-biblical reinterpretation of Exod 21:12–14. E. Otto (1994: 195) clarified that the two texts share the same structure of casuistic law. J. Stackert (2006: 29–40) identified multiple instances of verbal linkage, including "to which he may flee" (*ʾăšer yānûs šāmmâ;* Exod 21:13; Deut 19:3, 5, 11), "the one who strikes" (*makkēh ʾîš;* Exod 21:12; Deut 19:4, 6, 11), "death" (*wāmēt môt yûmāt;* Exod 21:12, 14; Deut 5, 6, 11, 12), "to take" (*tiqqāḥenû;* Exod 21:14, Deut 19:12), and "his neighbor" (*rēʿēhû;* Exod 21:14; Deut 19:4, 5, 11), as well as the central role of premeditation in the evaluation of intentional and unintentional homicide (Exod 21:13, 14; Deut 19:4, 6, 11). The verbal linkages establish the foundation for the author of Deut 19:1–13 to reconceptualize the "place" (*māqôm*) of asylum from the altar to cities; three are prescribed on the basis of geographical distribution (Deut 19:3). The redesignation of the place of refuge in Deut 19:1–13 from altar to city likely reflects the centralization of the cult in Deuteronomy, as argued already by Wellhausen (1996: 33, 162; see also Rofé, 1986; Nelson, 2002: 236–42). Multiple cities of refuge are possible, because they are now distinct from the central cultic site (Stackert, 2006: 42–45). The new instruction on refuge in Deut 19:1–13 may be summarized in the following manner. The reference to the cities is general; they lack the specific designation "cities of refuge" (19:2), and they are not associated with Levites in any way. The scope of the law is limited to the Israelites. The purpose of the cities is to avoid bloodguilt upon the people of Israel that would occur from the killing of an innocent slayer (19:10, 13). Accidental homicide is determined on the basis of intention, meaning a person is killed "unintentionally" (*biṭlî daʿat*) and there is no evidence of past enmity (*lōʾ-śōnēʾ lô mitmōl šilšōm*) (19:4). The elders of the city are tasked with safeguarding the integrity of refuge by expelling murderers and delivering them to the avenger of blood (19:12). The duration of refuge is not addressed.

The Priestly account of asylum in Num 35:9–28 lacks direct literary connection to Exod 21:12–14, yet it too provides an interpretation of asylum from altar to city, which contrasts to Deut 19:1–13. The general reference to "cities" in Deut 19:2 is identified more precisely as "cities of refuge" (*ʿārê miqlāṭ;* Num 35:11); six are designated, with three each on the western and eastern sides of the Jordan River (Num 35:13–14). The larger context of Num 35:1–8 clarifies that the six cities of refuge are among the forty-eight Levitical cities (35:6–7), indicating that Levites may own land (35:1–5), in contrast to Deuteronomy (e.g., 10:8, 18:1, 14:27). The scope of the law is broader than in Deut 19:1–13, including both Israelites and resident aliens (Num 35:15). The broader scope influences the purpose of the cities of refuge; it is not to avoid bloodguilt on the Israelite people (Deut 19:10), but to protect the innocent killer from the avenger of blood until there is a trial before the congregation (Num 35:11–12, 15). Accidental death is determined by intent, as in Deut 19:1–13, but the language changes in Num 35:11: "a slayer who kills a person without intent (*bišgāgâ*)." The congregation, as opposed to the elders (Deut 19:12), is tasked with safeguarding the integrity of the cities of refuge by expelling murderers and by delivering them to the avenger of blood (Num 35:21). The duration of refuge for the innocent slayer ends upon the death of the high priest (Num 35:25). The inclusion of the high priest (*hakkōhēn haggādōl;* Num 35:25, 28) locates the Priestly version in the postexilic period, when the Aaronide priests assumed the prominent leadership role of the Jerusalem temple during the Persian period (e.g., Schaper, 2000; see "Composition"). The release upon the death of the high priest may indicate a distinct understanding of bloodguilt, in which case even an innocent slayer is guilty of shedding blood (Mattison, 2018). The high priest's death may expiate the bloodguilt (Barmash, 2005: 103; Greenberg, 1959: 129–30), or occasion amnesty (Levine, 2000: 558), or even provide a form of compensation to the victim's family (Whitekettle, 2018).

The discussion in "Composition" clarified that the cities of refuge in Josh 20 are part of a larger addition to the book of Joshua, which includes the list of Levitical cities in Josh 21; it also demonstrated that the central themes of Josh 20 are based on the Priestly account in Num 35:9–28, with the motifs from Deut 19:1–13 a latter addition. The Priestly point of view is evident from the many shared motifs, including the term "cities of refuge" (Josh 20:2, Num 35:11), the identification of six cities (Josh 20:7–8, Num 35:13–14), the purpose of the cities as refuge from the avenger (Josh 20:3, 9; Num 35:12), the leading role of the congregation (Josh 20:3, Num 35:12), the broad scope of refuge for Israelites and for aliens (Josh 20:9, Num 35:15), the further identification of the cities as the possession of the Levites (Josh 21; Num 35:6), and the central role of the high priest, whose death releases the innocent slayer from refuge (Josh 20:6; Num 35:25, 28). Joshua 20–21 also expands the information in Num 35 by distributing the cities of refuge among the Levitical families in Josh 21.

LEVITES AND LEVITICAL CITIES

The Levites are associated with the priesthood in ancient Israel, although their identity, cultic functions, and hierarchical arrangement are described differently in a variety of traditions (Cody, 1969; Gunneweg, 1965; Leuchter and Hutton, 2011; Leuchter, 2017). The ancestor, Levi, is included in the birth account of Jacob's sons as the third son of Leah (Gen 29:34). Levi is associated with violence when he and Simeon slaughter the males at Shechem over the sexual violation of their sister, Dinah (Gen 34); this incident reappears in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:5). The Levites also purge the wilderness camp of three thousand Israelites for worshiping the calf (Exod 32:26–28). Stories of individual Levitical priests are scattered in the book of Judges (e.g., Judg 17, 18, 19, 20), but the majority of the literature concentrates on the broader role of the Levites as a group. Deuteronomy and the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch provide contrasting portraits of the Levites (see Emerton, 1962; compare G. E. Wright, 1954). The comparison provides background for interpreting the Levites in the book of Joshua.

The book of Deuteronomy focuses on the Levites as a tribe without developing a clear or formal distinction between Levites and priests (e.g., Driver, 1903: 218–19; Cody, 1969: 129; compare Abba, 1977). Deuteronomy identifies cultic functions that target priests in particular, but these functions do not appear to exclude Levites in general. The view of Levites as a single class of "potential" priests is indicated by the frequent use of the term "Levitical priests" (*hakkōhănîm halwiyyim;* e.g., Deut 17:9, 18; 18:1; 24:8; 27:9). The Levites are set apart from the other tribes to carry the ark of the covenant (Deut 10:8; 31:25, 29), to minister at the cultic site (18:5, 21:5), and to decide disputes (21:5; see Leuchter, 2007: 417–36). There is no fixed hierarchy among the Levitical priests, so that any Levite may choose to serve in a priestly function at the cultic site (18:6). The selection of Levites for cultic service also means that in the book of Deuteronomy they do not receive land of any kind (10:9; 14:27, 29; 18:1); in lieu of land, Levites receive a tithe (26:12), and they may reside in any town of their choosing (12:12, 18).

The Priestly genealogy of the ancestor, Levi, introduces hierarchy among the Levites (Wilson, 1977). The three families are identified as Kohath, Gershon, and Merari (e.g., Exod 6:16–25). The descendants of Kohath assume the primary role among the Levitical families; this line includes Amran, the son of Kohath, who is the father of Moses and Aaron. The genealogy continues the line of Amran through Aaron and Eleazar to Phinehas. The Levitical families provide the basis for the distinction between the Aaronide priests, who oversee the sacrificial rituals at the altar of the central cultic site, and the Levites, who serve the priests (already Wellhausen, 1996; Gunneweg, 1965; Cody, 1969). The distinction is evident in the separate ordination of the Aaronide priests, who are vested with distinct garments (Lev 8–9) preparing them for service at the altar (Lev 3–7). The hierarchy among the Levitical families is illustrated further in the wilderness march, which states that the Gershonites and the Merarites carry the tabernacle (Num 10:17), while the Kohathites carry the holy objects (Num 10:21).

The hierarchy among the Levitical families also results in the establishment of the office of the high priest from the Aaronide priesthood (Exod 28–29, Num 16–17), which is also evident in Joshua (21:6). The title is tied to the emergence of the high priest in the postexilic period (Schaper, 2000), when Aaronide priests assumed the leadership role of the Jerusalem temple from the Persian period through the Herodian age (for the list of high priests, see VanderKam, 2004). The office of the high priest is described in three contexts: the restrictions on the high priest (Lev 21:10–15), the role of the death of the high priest in the release of the innocent slayer from the city of refuge (Num 35:25, 28; MT Josh 20:6), and the responsibility of the high priest over temple finance (2 Kgs 12:11). The title is applied to three people: Hilkiah, during the reign of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:4, 8; 23:4; 2 Chr 34:9); Joshua ben Jehozadak, during the return from exile (Zech 3:1, 6:9; Hag 1:1, 12; 2:2, 4); and Eliashib, in the story of Nehemiah (Neh 3:1).

The same hierarchy among the Levitical families is present in the distribution of the Levitical cities (Josh 21). The Kohathites live in the central western territory, while the Gershonites and the Merarites are dispersed north in Galilee and east across the Jordan River. Noth (1971b: 131) rightly concluded that the literary design presupposes the situation of the diaspora. In the Priestly literature, the Levites are not priests; they are cultic personnel who are designed to serve the Aaronide priests (e.g., Num 3:6, 20; 18:2, 21, 23). The Levites protect the sanctuary (e.g., Num 1:53, 2:17) and they substitute for the firstborn Israelite males, who would otherwise be required to perform cultic service (e.g., Num 3:12; 3:41, 45, 49; 8:18, 20–26). The contrast between Deuteronomy and the Priestly literature goes beyond the Priestly hierarchy to include land possession. Unlike Deuteronomy, in which the Levites were forbidden to own land, the Levitical families in the Priestly literature own land in the form of Levitical cities with their pastureland (Num 35:1–8); these cities also include the cities of refuge (Num 35:9–28, 1 Chr 6:39–66 [Eng. 54–81]).

The Levites are presented in conflicting roles in the book of Joshua; at times they represent a single class, as in Deuteronomy, while at other times they are organized into hierarchical families, as in the Priestly literature. The two presentations of the Levites are the result of the history of the composition of Joshua. The view of the Levites in the original form of the book of Joshua is of a single class of landless priests, which represents the northern point of view of the author of the book. The introduction of Levitical families, the prominent role of the Aaronide priests, the possession of Levitical cities, and the central location of Judah-Benjamin are revisions written from a pro-Judean, southern point of view.

The author of the book of Joshua presents the Levites as a single class of priests, mirroring the same terminology and cultic functions as in the book of Deuteronomy.

In the first portion of the book, the "Levitical priests" frame the journey of the ark from the Jordan River to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 3–8). At the outset of the journey, the Levitical priests carry the ark of the covenant across the Jordan River (3:3). At the conclusion of the journey, they stand before the ark at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:33). Throughout the journey of the ark, the "Levitical priests" are described collectively as "priests" without distinction in rank (e.g., 3:3, 6, 8, 13, 14, 17; 4:3, 9, 10, 16; 6:4, 6, 8, 12, 16). In the second half of the book, the same view of the Levites, as a single class of priests, continues during the distribution of land. All of the Levites are described collectively as "the tribe of Levi" (13:14, 33). As in Deuteronomy, the author states that the "tribe of Levi" (13:14, 33) and the "Levites" in general (14:3, 4) cannot own property whether they live east (13:14, 33; 14:3) or west (14:4) of the Jordan River: "For there is no portion for Levi in your midst, because the priesthood of Yahweh is his inheritance" (18:7). According to the author of Joshua, the Levites represent the priestly class in general, which performs the cultic rituals associated with the ark of the covenant; they are not part of the twelve-tribe system, and they do not own tribal territory.

The Levites are reinterpreted in the additions concentrated in the second half of the book of Joshua; the additions correspond to late Priestly literature from the Pentateuch. The revisions include the priestly characters in leadership roles (e.g., 14:1, 17:4; 19:51; 22:13, 30, 32; 24:33; see Josh 14) and the description of Levitical families who inherit cities (14:4b; Josh 20–21). The revision restricts the meaning of "priest" to the office of the high priest in general (20:6) or to the specific priests, Aaron (21:4), his descendants (21:19), Eleazar (14:1, 17:4, 19:51), and Phinehas (22:13, 30, 32). The restricted use of "priest" influences the identification of the Levites. They are separated from the priests: "The heads of the fathers of the Levites approached Eleazar the priest" (21:1). The Levites are distributed into "families" (*lĕmišpĕḥôt*) that represent descending levels of authority from the Kohathites (21:1, 20) to the Gershonites (21:27) and finally to the Merarites (21:34). Coupled with this, the Levites inherit property as cities and pasturelands, whose distribution reflects the different levels of authority of the Levitical families. The distribution reshapes the tribal territories to represent a southern point of view by linking Judah and Benjamin as the territory with the Aaronide priest. The changing role of the Levites in the book of Joshua provides a window into the contrasting function of priests between northern Samarians and southern Judeans; it also highlights the significant reinterpretation of the tribal territory that is introduced with the addition of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities in Josh 20–21.

IDEAL PORTRAYAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

The debate throughout the modern period of study has been whether the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities represent an ideal portrayal or a more specific historical period. Wellhausen (1885: 159–64) established the paradigm; he concluded that the stylized presentation of the cities, the unrealistic dimension of the Levitical property, and the late development of the subject of the Levites owning property (Ezek 45:5) confirmed the fictional character of Josh 20–21. He placed the composition of Josh 20–21 in the postexilic period. Research in archaeology and in historical geography challenged the interpretation of Wellhausen as too simplistic. Most researchers acknowledged that the Levitical cities represented an idealized portrait of tribal Israel, but many also favored a more nuanced position than Wellhausen, as illustrated, for example, by M. Haran (1961: 164): "[T]he account of the Levitical cities basically reflects a particular historical situation, accreted, however, with utopian features."

Interpretation throughout the twentieth century concentrated on the historical aspect of the Levitical cities; the aim was to locate their earliest manifestation, with minimal evaluation of the literary design of Josh 20–21. The identification of historical periods varied among researchers. Kaufmann (1985: 65–71) looked to the tribal period, but most explored the period of the monarchy, with the majority of researchers identifying the Levitical cities with the united monarchy on the basis of the geographical distribution (e.g., Albright, 1945; Mettinger, 1971: 98; Aharoni, 1979: 301–5; B. Mazar, 1960a). Others suggested the formation of the cities after the split of the monarchy (de Vaux, 1961: 366–67) or during the reigns of Jeroboam II (Boling, 1983: 242–43), Hezekiah (Haran, 1978: 129–31), or Josiah (e.g., Alt, 1953c; Na'aman, 1986: 229–30). Mowinckel (1964: 67–76) favored the postexilic period.

The postexilic composition of the Levitical cities became more prominent in the late twentieth century, in part under the influence of Auld's (1979a, 1990) literary and text-critical study of Josh 20–21 and 1 Chr 6:39–66 (Eng. 6:54–81). He reversed the traditional understanding of the inner-biblical relationship, arguing that the MT of Josh 20–21 represented the later version of the Levitical cities, which placed the text well into the postexilic period. Many disagreed with Auld on the direction of dependence (e.g., Knoppers, 2005; Hutton, 2009b, 2011), but the focus remained on the postexile as the setting for the composition of the Levitical cities (see Spencer, 1992b). The same debate continued, however, whether the cities were an ideal portrayal or belonged to a specific historical time within the postexilic period. Knauf (2008: 174–75) represents the interpretation of many in emphasizing the ideal nature of Josh 20–21, noting that the Levitical cities could not have functioned in any administrative manner (see also Nelson, 1997: 236–43; Ben Zvi, 1992; Achenbach, 2003: 594–99; Schmidt, 2002b). But others explored sociological models and historical settings that might inform the distribution of the Levitical cities. Hutton (2009b), for example, combined the role of the Levites in mediation and the geographical placement of the Levitical cities at border areas as the basis for comparison to Ahansal tribes, who also dwelled at borders and functioned as mediators. Y. Lee-Sak (2017) narrowed the historical context in the postexile to the Hasmonean period. He argued that the distribution of the Levitical cities represented the administrative ideal of the Hasmoneans. Lee-Sak focused the historical setting even further to the reign of John Hyrcanus, who conquered Medeba east of the Jordan, Idumea in the south, and Shechem along with the temple at Gerizim in the north. The research suggests that the addition of Josh 20–21 may be as early as the late Persian period, in which case it would represent an ideal portrait of the Levitical cities written from a southern perspective. But Josh 20–21 may be composed as late as the Hasmonean period, in which case the author fashioned the Levitical cities to reflect the geopolitical setting of Hasmonean rule.

Eastern and Western Tribes (22:1–34)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 22 explores intertribal relationships. The chapter presupposes the genealogical unity of the twelve tribes as "brothers" (22:3, 4, 7, 8), while examining differences that arise from geographical location. The contrast between the eastern and the western tribes is accentuated with the introduction of a narrow definition of the promised land as the territory west of the Jordan River, described as the "land of Canaan" (22:9, 10, 11). This territory is identified further as the "land of Yahweh" (22:19), and the tribes who live in this region are described as "Israelites" (22:9, 11, 12, 31, 32), the "congregation of Israel" (22:12), and the "congregation of Yahweh" (22:16); their leaders are the "clan of Israel" (22:14). The restricted definition of the promised land and of the people of Israel highlights the ambiguous position of the eastern tribes, who live outside of the land of Canaan across the Jordan River in Gilead (22:9), which is the point of focus in the chapter. During the events of the chapter, the tribe of West Manasseh is also singled out with special responsibility (22:7–8). Joshua 22 may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Departure of the Tribes (22:1–8)
2. Conflict over the Altar (22:9–34)
    A. Altar on the East Side of the Jordan River (22:10–12)
    B. Threat of Sacrilege (22:13–20)
    C. Altar of Witness (22:21–29)
    D. Agreement (22:30–34)

Translation

22:1–8. DEPARTURE OF THE TRIBES

22 [1]Then Joshua called the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, [2]and he said to them, "You observed all that Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded

you. And you have obeyed my voice in all that I commanded you. [3]You did not abandon your brothers this many days until this day. You kept the charge of the command of Yahweh your God. [4]And now Yahweh your God has given rest to your brothers as he said to them. Now turn and go yourselves to your tents, to the land of your ownership, which Moses the servant of Yahweh gave to you across the Jordan. [5]Only observe carefully to do the commandment and the Torah, which Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you, to love Yahweh your God, to walk in all of his ways, to observe his commandments, to cling to him, and to serve him with all of your heart and with all of your soul."

[6]And Joshua blessed them and he sent them. And they went to their tents.

[7]To the half-tribe of Manasseh, Moses gave in Bashan. But to the other half Joshua gave with their brothers across the Jordan to the west. And also when Joshua sent them to their tents, he blessed them. [8]And he said to them, saying, "With great wealth return to your tents, with very much cattle, silver, gold, copper, iron, and a great amount of clothing. Divide the spoil of your enemies with your bothers."

22:9–34. CONFLICT OVER THE ALTAR

22 [9]And the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh turned and went from the Israelites from Shiloh, which was in the land of Canaan, to go to the land of Gilead to the land of their ownership, which they came to possess through the mouth of Yahweh by the hand of Moses.

[10]And they entered the region of the Jordan, which was in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by the Jordan, an altar widely visible. [11]And the Israelites heard, saying, "The sons of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have indeed built the altar opposite the land of Canaan in the region of the Jordan on the other side of the Israelites." [12]And the Israelites heard. And all the congregation of the Israelites assembled at Shiloh to go up against them for war.

[13]And the Israelites sent to the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh in the land of Gilead, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, [14]and ten leaders with him, one leader for each house of the father for each tribe of Israel, each a head of their father's house. They belonged to the clans of Israel.

[15]And they came to the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh at Gilead. And they spoke to them, saying, [16]"Thus said the entire congregation of Yahweh, 'What is this sacrilege that you committed against the God of Israel to turn today from following Yahweh? In building an altar for yourselves you rebel this day against Yahweh. [17]Was the sin of Peor not enough for us, from which we have not purified ourselves until this day? And the plague was against the congregation of Yahweh. [18]And now you are turning this day from following Yahweh. And it will happen that if you rebel this day against Yahweh, tomorrow he will be angry with the entire congregation of Israel. [19]Now if the land of your possession is polluted, cross over to the land of Yahweh, where the tabernacle of Yahweh dwells, and seize a possession in our midst. But against Yahweh do not rebel. And against us do not rebel by building for yourselves an altar other than the altar of Yahweh our God. [20]Did not Achan the son of

Zerah commit sacrilege against the ban, and wrath was on the entire congregation of Israel? And he did not perish alone in his sin.'"

[21]And the sons of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh answered and they spoke to the heads of the clans of Israel, [22]"El, God, Yahweh! El, God, Yahweh! He knows. And may Israel itself know.

"If in rebellion or in sacrilege against Yahweh, do not save us this day [23]for building for ourselves an altar to turn away from following Yahweh.

"And if to sacrifice on it a burnt offering and a cereal offering, or if to sacrifice on it a well-being offering, may Yahweh, himself, seek us out.

[24]"But most certainly out of concern from the situation we did this, saying, 'Tomorrow your children will say to our children, saying, "What is there between you and Yahweh the God of Israel? [25]Yahweh placed the Jordan as a border between us and you—sons of Reuben and sons of Gad. You have no portion in Yahweh. Your children will cause our children to cease fearing Yahweh."'

[26]"And we said, 'Let us do for ourselves by making an altar not for a whole burnt offering, nor for a sacrifice. [27]But it will be as a witness between us and you, and between the generations after us to perform the service of Yahweh in his presence with our whole burnt offerings, sacrifices, and well-being offerings. Then your children will not say tomorrow to our children, "You have no portion in Yahweh."'

[28]"And we said, 'If they should say to us and to our descendants tomorrow, then we will say, "Look at the copy of the altar of Yahweh, which our fathers made not for a whole burnt offering, nor for a sacrifice, but it is a witness between us and you."'

[29]"Far be it from us to rebel against Yahweh and to turn this day from following Yahweh by building an altar for a whole burnt offering, for a cereal offering, and for a sacrifice beside the altar of Yahweh our God that is in front of his tabernacle."

[30]And Phinehas, the priest, and the chiefs of the congregation, and the heads of the clans of Israel who were with him heard the words that the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and Manasseh spoke. It was good in their eyes. [31]And Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, said to the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and Manasseh, "This day we know that Yahweh is in our midst, because you have not committed this sacrilege against Yahweh. Now you have rescued the Israelites from the hand of Yahweh."

[32]Then Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest, and the chiefs returned from being with the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad from the land of Gilead to the land of Canaan to the Israelites. And they brought back word to them. [33]And the word was good in the eyes of the Israelites. And the Israelites blessed God. And they did not speak of going up against them for war to destroy the land upon which the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad were dwelling.

[34]And the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad called the altar, "for it is a witness between us that Yahweh is the God."

Notes

The MT and the LXX diverge in the development of several of the themes in Josh 22. The land to which the tribes east of the Jordan River return is evaluated differently. The MT judges the land outside of Canaan as "polluted," which may require the eastern tribes to migrate westward across the Jordan River (22:19). The reason for migration in the LXX, by contrast, is that the land east of the Jordan River may be too "small" for the eastern tribes. The sacrifices are described differently in the MT and the LXX. The whole burnt offering (*'ôlâ*) in the MT designates the sacrifice of an animal (22:23, 26, 27, 28, 29). The LXX likely conveys an animal sacrifice in 22:23, when it translates the Hebrew *'ôlâ* as *holokautōmatōn,* "holocaust of animal." But more often the LXX renders the animal sacrifice in the MT as *karpōma,* "fruit offering." The fruit offering in the LXX influences the translation of the "cereal offering," *minḥâ,* in the MT, which is either absent in the LXX (22:23) or rendered as the "sacrifice of *salamin*" (22:29). The consequence of false worship outside of the land of Canaan is also evaluated differently in 22:20. Both versions use the story of Achan to describe the consequence of rebelling against Yahweh. The MT emphasizes the collective guilt of Achan's sin in the closing line: "And he did not perish alone in his sin." The LXXB moves in another direction, emphasizing the individual guilt of Achan: "And he, one alone, died for his own sin."

22:3 *this many days.* The MT writes the initial demonstrative in the singular, *zeh,* "this many days." Noth (1971b: 128) interprets the singular as an interjection, "[that is] a long time [ago]" (author's translation). The LXX translates in the plural, *tautas tas hēmeras,* "these many days."

until this day. The MT reads the phrase with the preceding clause (note the use of the *'aṭnaḥ*). Rahlfs follows the MT, placing a semicolon after the phrase *heōs tēs sēmeron hēmeras.* Van der Meer (2004: 186) separates the temporal phrase from the preceding material in the LXX, translating, "Until today you have kept the commandment of the Lord your God."

the charge of the command of Yahweh your God. The MT *mišmeret,* "service," or perhaps better in this context, "charge," is absent in the LXX. Nelson (1997: 245) suggests a "haplography *'[mšmr]t mṣwt* triggered by the repetition of *t* and *m.*"

22:4 *And now Yahweh your God.* The LXX writes "our God."

has given rest to your brothers. The LXX writes "our brothers."

Now turn and go yourselves. The two imperatives in the Hebrew are translated with a participle and an imperative in the LXX, *apostraphentes apelthate,* "turning back, go." A. Aejmelaeus (1993: 7) states that the Greek construction lacks a parallel in Hebrew and indicates the freedom of the translator.

to your tents. The Hebrew *lĕ'ōhŏlêkem,* "your tents," is rendered *eis tous oikous humōn,* "to your houses," in the LXX. For discussion, see Greenspoon (1983: 299–300).

which Moses the servant of Yahweh gave to you across the Jordan. The LXX lacks the identification of Moses as "servant of Yahweh." Van der Meer (2004: 188) interprets the LXX omission as a literary smoothing out of the text.

22:5 *commanded you.* The LXX writes "commanded us."

22:6–8 *And Joshua . . . with your brothers.* The section is ambiguous; it begins with a focus on the eastern tribes in general (v. 6), before focusing on the tribe of Manasseh (vv. 7–8). The section contains two blessings from Joshua—one to the eastern tribes in general (v. 6) and a second to the western half-tribe of Manasseh (v. 7b*b*). The material between the two blessings (vv. 7ab*a*) contains a contrast between Moses/East Manasseh in Bashan (v. 7a) and Joshua/West Manasseh—designated as the "other half . . . to the west" (v. 7b), who oversee the distribution of booty to their "brothers" (v. 8).

22:7 *But to the other half.* The MT *wĕleḥṣô* translates "to his half," and it contrasts with the earlier phrase "to the half-tribe of Manasseh" (*wĕlaḥăṣî*), which designates the eastern half of Manasseh. The translation includes the word "other" to convey the contrast, which is absent from the Hebrew.

Joshua gave with their brothers across the Jordan to the west. The MT contains the Kethib (*mē'ēreb*)/Qere (*bĕ'ēreb*). The translation follows the Kethib. The LXX translated the MT "with their brothers" in the singular as "with his brothers."

22:8 *And he said to them, saying, "With great wealth return to your tents . . . Divide the spoil of your enemies with your brothers."* The text is not clear in identifying the object of Joshua's speech, "to them," and the identity of "your brothers" (Ballhorn, 2011: 358). The structure of 22:6–8, however, contrasts Moses/East Manasseh (v. 7a) with Joshua/West Manasseh (v. 7b; see above at 22:6–8). Joshua identifies the wealth of West Manasseh and commands them to share the wealth with their "brothers," meaning either the other Israelite tribes who dwell on the western side of the Jordan River or all of the tribes east and west of the Jordan River. In the LXX, the verse is written as historical narrative, but it remains ambiguous: "Then with much wealth they departed to their homes. And they divided the spoil of their enemies with their brothers." For discussion, see Greenspoon (1983: 181) and Boling and Wright (1982: 505).

silver, gold, copper, iron. The LXX includes three precious metals, silver, gold, and iron, but not copper. The identification of the four precious metals as booty appears during the destruction of Jericho, where the materials are identified as cultic property: "Only the silver, the gold, and the vessels of bronze and iron they gave to the treasury of the house of Yahweh" (6:24, see the "Comments"). The four precious metals, along with tin and lead, also appear as war booty in Num 31:22.

22:10 *And they entered the region of the Jordan, which was in the land of Canaan.* The Hebrew *'el-gĕlîlôt hayyardēn*, "the region of the Jordan," designates an indeterminate area, presumably on the west side of the Jordan River, since the two and one-half tribes are still in the land of Canaan. The LXX translates *eis galgala tou iordanou*, "the Gilgal of the Jordan," indicating more specifically the location of the campsite on the west side of the Jordan River.

built there an altar by the Jordan. The Hebrew *mizbēăh* is the general term for the place where sacrifice is carried out. The LXX translates *bōmon*, indicating that the altar is illegitimate. The designation of a legitimate altar is *thusiastērion*. See the use of both terms in v. 19. For discussion, see Auld (2005: 212).

an altar widely visible. The Hebrew *mizbēăh gādôl lĕmar'eh* most likely indicates the altar's great size. One might also translate, "an altar great in appearance." The LXX *bōmon megan tou idein*, "an (illegitimate) altar great to see," also emphasizes the size of the structure.

22:11 *opposite the land of Canaan.* The Hebrew *'el-mûl* may mean "in front of" or "opposite." The meaning "in front of" occurs in descriptions of the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 26:9, Num 8:2) and of the priestly vestments (e.g., Exod 28:25, 37); the same meaning may also appear in geographical descriptions (e.g., Exod 34:3, Josh 8:33). The meaning "opposite" is common in geographical depictions as well (e.g., Deut 2:19, 3:29, 4:46, 11:30, 34:6; Josh 9:1). I have translated "opposite" in part on the basis of the context, in which the location of the altar is also described as "on the other side of the Israelites" (compare Snaith, 1978). For discussion of the range of possible readings, see Noort (2020: 228); and of the land of Canaan as representing the western side of the Jordan River, see the "Notes" to 3:10.

in the region of the Jordan. The Hebrew *'el-gĕlîlôt hayyardēn* is a repetition from v. 10, even though the geographical designation now appears to be on the eastern side of the Jordan, as compared to the western side in v. 10. The LXX makes the transition from the western side of the Jordan River to its eastern side explicit by translating *gĕlîlôt*, "region," as the place-name "Gilgal" in v. 10 and "Gilead" in v. 11.

on the other side of the Israelites. The Hebrew *'el-'ēber bĕnê yiśrā'ēl* is translated "on the side (belonging to) the Israelites." This translation would place the altar on the west side of the Jordan River, which would require translating *'el-mûl* as "in front of" rather than "opposite." The meaning of v. 11 would then be that the altar was built on the frontier of the land of Canaan at its border on the west side of the Jordan River. I translate *'el-'ēber* as "opposite, across, on the other side," as in the phrase *mē'ēber hayyardēn*, "across the Jordan" (22:7). This translation places the altar on the east side of the Jordan River, outside of the land of Canaan. This is also the LXX understanding of the passage.

the Israelites. The designation of the tribes west of the Jordan River as "Israelites" introduces an ethnic distinction between the eastern and the western tribes that has not functioned until this point in the book of Joshua. The LXX maintains the same distinction.

22:12 *And all the congregation of the Israelites.* The LXX lacks the reference to the Israelites as the "congregation," *'ădat.*

22:13 *Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest.* The LXX extends the genealogy to include "Aaron, the high priest."

22:14 *house of the father.* The Hebrew *bêt-'āb* occurs twice in this verse in the singular, "house of the father," and in the plural, *bêt-'ābôt*, "house of the fathers." The term likely designates a social group (for discussion, see the "Comments" to Josh 14).

They belonged to the clans of Israel. The Hebrew *lĕ'alê yiśrā'ēl*, "clans of Israel," is unclear. The Hebrew *'elep* means "a thousand." *HALOT* (59) notes that in later Hebrew the term can also mean "region" (e.g., 22:30, "region of Israel") and "tribe" or "clan" (e.g., 22:21, "heads of the clans of Israel"). The LXX translates the Hebrew as a number, *chiliarchoi israēl*, "officers of thousands of Israel."

22:16 *What is this sacrilege that you committed.* The Hebrew *māh-hamma'al hazzeh 'ăšer mĕ'altem* repeats the word *ma'al*, "sacrilege." For discussion of *ma'al* as sacrilege, see the "Notes" to 7:1; and Milgrom (1991: 345–46).

to turn today from following Yahweh. In building an altar for yourselves you rebel this day against Yahweh. The Hebrew is one extended sentence, which I have separated into two for stylistic purposes. The Hebrew *mizbēăh*, meaning an altar in general, is translated in the LXX *bōmon*, which designates an improper altar (see also v. 10). The LXX lacks "this day."

22:18 *with the entire congregation of Israel.* The LXX lacks "congregation."

22:19 *Now if the land of your possession is polluted.* The Hebrew *tĕmē'ā*, "polluted," is rendered in the LXX *mikra*, "small." The LXX may be a corruption of *miara* > *mikra*, as argued by Auld (2005: 214).

by building for yourselves an altar other than the altar of Yahweh our God. The LXX distinguishes between an improper altar (*bōmon*) and an appropriate altar (*thusiastēriou kuriou*) to Yahweh.

22:20 *Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit sacrilege against the ban, and wrath was on the entire congregation of Israel? And he did not perish alone in his sin.* The closing line of the Hebrew is obscure, *wĕhûʾ ʾîš ʾeḥad lōʾ gāwaʿ baʿăōnô*, yielding a variety of possible translations (see Auld, 2005: 215; Butler, 2014a: 245). (1) *wĕhûʾ ʾîš ʾeḥad* could be read with the preceding sentence: "And wrath was on the entire congregation of Israel, even though he was one person." The closing line, *lōʾ gāwaʿ baʿăōnô*, might then be translated as a rhetorical question, "Did he not die for his offense?" (2) *wĕhûʾ ʾîš ʾeḥad lōʾ gāwaʿ baʿăōnô* could be read as a single sentence, which is my translation: "And he did not perish alone in/for his sin." Soggin (1972: 212) provided an alternative reading by changing the Hebrew *lōʾ*, "not," to *lû*, "if only": "If only he had perished alone for his iniquity." The variations of the MT yield the same emphasis on corporate punishment: The sin of Achan, who was only one man, brought punishment and death on many Israelites. (3) The LXXB provides yet another reading, which emphasizes individual punishment, adding *ouk idou*, "look!," at the outset of the rhetorical question, where it advocates corporate punishment: "Look! Did not Achar the son of Zara commit a trespass/sacrilege from the anathema, and there was anger on the whole assembly of Israel?" The end of the verse in the LXXB, however, would appear to move away from corporate punishment and emphasize, instead, the individual punishment of Achar: *kai houtos eis monos autos apethanen tē heautou harmartiai*, "and he, one alone, died for his own sin." The longer LXXA reflects the interpretation of corporate punishment with the inclusion of *me monos: kai houtos eis monos en me monos houtos apethanen tē heautou harmartia*, "And he was not one lone person. Did he die alone for his sin?"

22:22 *El, God, Yahweh*. The Hebrew *ʾēl ʾĕlōhîm yhwh* lists three names for the Deity without a clear syntactical relationship. The LXX translates as a sentence, *ho theos theos estin kurios*, "The God, God is the Lord."

22:23 *for building for ourselves an altar to turn away from following Yahweh*. The MT combines vv. 22–23 into a single sentence. The LXX separates the two verses, beginning v. 23 with a new sentence, *kai ei ōkodomēsame*, "and if we build."

a burnt offering and a cereal offering . . . a well-being offering. The Hebrew *ʿōlâ*, "burnt offering," means "a sacrifice which is wholly burned, comprising domestic animals and occasionally birds" (*HALOT* 828–30). The LXX translates *thusian holokautōmatōn*, "a sacrifice of whole burnt offering." The Hebrew *minḥâ* may mean "gift," in both a cultic and a noncultic context, or it may take on the more restricted meaning of "cereal offering," which is its meaning in 22:23 and 29. The term is absent in the LXX. The Hebrew *zibḥê šĕlāmîm*, "well-being offering," designates peace, communion, and perhaps even the covenantal relationship between the worshiper and the Deity. The LXX translates *thusian sōtēriou*, "the sacrifice of salvation."

22:25 *Yahweh placed the Jordan as a border between us and you—sons of Reuben and sons of Gad*. The LXX lacks the reference to Reuben and Gad.

22:30 *And Phinehas, the priest, and the chiefs of the congregation, and the heads of the clans of Israel who were with him*. The LXX lacks reference to "the heads of the clans of Israel."

the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad, and Manasseh. The MT omits the reference to the "half-tribe" of Manasseh." See also v. 31. The LXX writes "half-tribe of Manasse."

22:31 *And Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest*. The LXX lacks reference to Eleazar.

22:32 *the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad*. The LXX includes reference to Manasseh.

22:33 *the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad*. Manasseh is absent in the MT but present in the LXX.

22:34 *And the sons of Reuben and the sons of Gad called the altar*. Manasseh is absent in the MT but present in the LXX. The LXX changes the subject of the sentence so that Joshua names the altar, rather than the tribes east of the Jordan River. The naming formula in the MT, *wayyiqrĕʾû . . . lammizbēăḥ*, "and they named . . . the altar," lacks the name. The same is true of the LXX.

for it is a witness between us that Yahweh is the God. The first-person "us" in the MT is the third-person plural "them" in the LXX.

Composition

SEPARATE NARRATIVES

Joshua 22 narrates Joshua's release of the eastern tribes from their obligation to assist in the conquest of the western land (22:1–8), followed by the conflict over the altar of the eastern tribes (22:9–34). The traditional interpretation judges the two events to be distinct bodies of literature, with Joshua's dismissal of the eastern tribes reflecting Deuteronomistic composition and the conflict over the altar, Priestly influence. The material on Manasseh (22:7–8) is judged to be an addition providing a literary bridge between the previously independent units. This was the position of Kuenen (1886: 339–40), Wellhausen (1889: 132–33), and Steuernagel (1923: 236–37) already in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it continues into the present time among many interpreters (e.g., Noth, 1971b: 133; Kloppenborg, 1981: 351–55; den Hertog, 2003; Nelson, 1997: 247–53; Pitkänen, 2010: 357–58; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 247–48).

The traditional interpretation is based on the comparison of Josh 22 to pentateuchal literature. The Deuteronomistic influence in 22:1–6 is evident in the leadership role of Joshua (Josh 22:1–6 [7–8]; Deut 3:28, 31:1, 34:9); the emphasis on the Torah commanded by Moses (Josh 22:5; Deut 4:8, 44; 31:9); and a range of shared phrases, including "to keep the charge of the command of Yahweh your God" (Josh 22:2, Deut 11:1), "to love Yahweh your God" (Josh 22:5, Deut 10:12), "to walk in all of his ways" (Josh 22:5; Deut 10:12, 26:17, 28:9), and "to serve . . . with all of your heart" (Josh 22:5, Deut 10:12). The influence of Priestly literature in 22:9–34 includes the leadership role of Phinehas (e.g., Josh 22:13, 30, 31, 32; Exod 6:25; Num 25:7, 11; 31:6), the designation of the people as the "congregation" (*ʿēdâ;* Josh 22:12, 16, 18, 20, 30; e.g., Exod 35:1, 4, 20; Lev 4:13, 8:3, 16:5; Num 1:2, 3:7), the identification of the possession of land "ownership" (*ăḥūzâ;* Josh 22:9, 19; e.g., Gen 17:8; 23:9, 20; Lev 14:34; 25:10, 13, 24; Num 27:7; 32:5, 22; 35:2), the description of the cultic place as the "tabernacle" (*miškan;* Josh 22:19, 29; e.g., Exod 25:9, 26:1, 27:9), the character of cultic trespass as "sacrilege" (*maʿal;* Josh 22:16, 20, 22, 31; e.g., Lev 5:15, 21; 26:40; Num 5:6), and the characterization of contaminated land as "polluted" (*ṭāmēʾ;* Josh 22:19; e.g., Lev 5:2; 7:19, 21; 10:10; 11:4–8; Num 9:6, 18:15).

The criterion for judging the material on Manasseh (22:7–8) as a latter addition is based for the most part on content. Wellhausen (1889: 133) established the paradigm. He argued that the focus on Manasseh did not fit the narrative, that the motif of wealth in v. 8 was part of the JE source material, and that the contrast between the two half-tribes of Manasseh in v. 7a was a gloss to link vv. 6 and 8. Subsequent researchers built upon and expanded the conclusions of Wellhausen. H. N. Rösel (2011: 346), for example, judged the information on the half-tribe of Manasseh in v. 7 to be an insertion. Many expand this conclusion, arguing that the insertion of Manasseh was not confined to vv. 7–8 but included all references to the tribe throughout the narrative, whose original focus was limited to Reuben and Gad (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 247; Fritz, 1994: 220, 226–27; Boling and Wright, 1982: 508; Schorn, 1997: 208). Ballhorn (2011: 365–66) identified a comprehensive "Manasseh revision" (22:1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 21, 30, 31) of the original story of Reuben and Gad, which is still evident in 22:25, 32–34, where Reuben and Gad appear alone. The interpretation of the specific motifs in 22:7–8 as a means for interpreting the role of Manasseh is seldom explored.

UNIFIED NARRATIVE

Three literary problems emerge from the traditional interpretation of the composition of Josh 22. The first is that the intermixing of Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs appears throughout Josh 22, which presents a challenge to the view that 22:1–6 and 22:9–34 are separate narratives. C. Nihan (2012: 94) stated the problem when he concluded that the chapter identifies a "mixture of Dtr and Priestly terminology" that represents post-Priestly composition (see also den Hertog, 2003). E. Assis (2004a: 529; see also 2004b) noted that the supposedly Deuteronomistic composition of 22:1–6 contained many Priestly motifs, including the identification of the half-tribe of Manasseh (22:1), the Priestly term for "tribe" (*maṭṭeh,* 22:1), and the identification of the possession of land "ownership" (*ăḥūzâ,* 22:4; see also Nihan, 2012: 84). P. Y. Yoo (2018: 4–5) added that Joshua's speech to the eastern tribes, "you obeyed my voice," also departs from Deuteronomistic ideology, where the people are only commanded to "obey the voice of God" (e.g., Deut 4:30, 13:18, 15:5). Nihan (2012: 84) added that the combination of the terms "commandment" and "teaching/instruction" is absent in Deuteronomy, while the phrase "to keep the observance" is a late expression in 1 Kgs 2:3. The problem of mixed motifs in the supposedly Priestly composition of 22:9–34 continues. "Most notable," according to Nihan (2012: 84), "is the non-Priestly use" for "tribe" (*šebeṭ*) throughout the section (22:9, 10, 13, 15, 21). Other motifs that do not conform well to Priestly literature include the expression of "fear" by the eastern tribes (22:24; Assis, 2004a: 530); the reference to intergenerational education in the form of a catechism prominent in Deuteronomistic literature (22:24; e.g., Exod 12:21–27, 13:11–16; Deut 6:4–25; and Josh 4:6b–7, 21–24; Soggin, 1960; Long, 1968: 65–69, 81–83); and the identification of the Deity as "El, Elohim, Yahweh" (22:22), which echoes the central theophany of the Deity as "El, the living," during the crossing of the Jordan (3:10) but is not characteristic of Priestly tradition (Dozeman, 2021: 1–21). Yoo (2018: 10–12) identified additional motifs related to Priestly literature but that function in distinct ways. These include the expression "mouth of Yahweh" (22:9), the reference to Achan (22:20), the description of disobedience as sacrilege (22:16, 20, 22, 31), the function of Phinehas in relationship to Baal-Peor, the order of Reuben and Gad, and the phrase "to perform the service of Yahweh" (22:27). The mixing of motifs prompted Kuenen (1886: 107) already in the nineteenth century to evaluate 22:9–34 as a post-Priestly composition. The intermixing of Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs throughout Josh 22 suggests the entire chapter is a late composition, no earlier than the Persian period, and the author is familiar with the broad range of literature central to the formation of the Pentateuch (for arguments against the late date, see Pitkänen, 2010: 363–80).

The second problem is the literary coherence of Josh 22. Nelson (1997: 247) writes, "When the two parts of chapter 22 are read together, vv. 1–6 (7–8) conclude the theme of full participation in the conquest by the eastern tribes (1:12–18 and 4:12–13), and then v. 9 opens the question of future relations among the same cast of characters in the new post-conquest situation." For Nelson, the sequence is uneven, indicating a history of redaction. But Ballhorn (2011: 364–65) raises the problem with the redaction-critical solution; the separation of Josh 22 into two originally distinct narratives leaves the first narrative without a conclusion and the second without an introduction. Either both accounts are missing original material, or, more likely, they were written as one narrative.

The third problem is the lack of interpretation of Manasseh. Ballhorn (2011: 399) rightly noted that the frequent appearance of Manasseh in Josh 22 indicates the important role of this tribe in the overall narrative. Manasseh is mentioned along with Reuben and Gad in the opening verse, before becoming the center of attention in 22:7–8. The central role of east and west Manasseh in 22:7–8 is judged by most interpreters to be unexpected and out of place in the narrative—the result of a late redaction (e.g., Wright and Boling, 1982: 508) or even a textual gloss (e.g., Wellhausen, 1889: 133). Two reasons are provided. One is that the late insertion of 22:7–8 is meant to provide a "hinge" to combine the once independent narratives of 22:1–6 and 22:9–34 (e.g., Nelson, 1997: 247). This evaluation is seldom accompanied with a study of the specific motifs in 22:7–8, explaining how the text may be functioning as a literary bridge within the larger narrative. Another criterion is to judge Manasseh as a late insertion into a story about Reuben and Gad (e.g., Fritz, 1994: 220, 226–27; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 346). This interpretation is often the springboard for complex views of redaction to account for all the references to Manasseh in Josh 22, as illustrated, for example, in Ballhorn's identification of the "Manasseh revision" (see above). The conclusion conflicts, however, with the primary role of Manasseh throughout the book (e.g., 1:12; 4:12; 12:6; 13:7, 29–33; 14:4; 16:4; 17:1–13, 17; 18:7; 20:8; 21:5, 6, 25, 27).

I interpret Josh 22 as a single narrative that has undergone several stages of composition, with the contrasts between the MT and the LXX indicating ongoing revision. The original account includes Joshua's dismissal of the eastern tribes (22:1–8), followed by the conflict over the altar in which the "leaders of the congregation" (*nĕśîʾê hāʿēdâ*) represent the western tribes (22:9–34). The role of the "leaders" indicates the influence of late Priestly literature already in the original composition. The leaders first appear in the story of the Gibeonites (9:15, 18, 21), where they lead the tribes in making an unconditional covenant with the Gibeonites (9:15). The leaders appear a second time as the representatives to whom the daughters of Zelophehad present their legal claim (17:4). The leaders appear a final time in the present narrative as representatives of the ten western tribes in the conflict over the altar with the eastern tribes (22:14, 30, 32).

The revision of Josh 22 expands the leadership of the western tribes. It includes the priestly leadership of Phinehas (22:13b, 30a*a,* 31aa, 32a*a*) and the "heads of the father's house" (22:14b, 30a*a*). The presence of Phinehas carries over the emphasis on priestly leadership within the Levitical families introduced in Josh 20–21 (see the "Composition" to Josh 24). The combination of the priest, Phinehas, and the "heads of the father's house" represents the postexilic leadership of Jerusalem and its temple (see Josh 14). The insertion is not limited to Josh 22; it spans the entire account of the distribution of land to the tribes. Eleazar, the priests, and the "heads of the fathers of the tribes" are added to the introduction (14:1) and to the conclusion (19:51) of the distribution of the land. The same characters also adjudicate the claim of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:4), and they are the leaders in the allocation of the Levitical cities (21:1), where the "leaders of the congregation" are absent altogether. In addition to the expansion of the leaders, the revision of Josh 22 also identifies the central cultic site west of the Jordan as the tabernacle (22:19a*b*, 29b*b*)—a designation for the sanctuary that has been absent in the book of Joshua.

Comments

The eastern tribes represent the diaspora in the book of Joshua (see the "Comments" to Josh 13). Joshua 22 recounts their dismissal (22:1–8) and the conflict that develops when they build an altar (22:9–34). The broader role of the eastern tribes in the book of Joshua aids in the interpretation of Josh 22. The eastern tribes appear in three texts, which link the two halves of the book of Joshua. The first is when Joshua requests the assistance of the eastern tribes in the conquest of the western land (1:12–18). The second (13:8–33) and the third (22:1–34) appearances frame the distribution of land in the second half of the book. The separate territory of the eastern tribes is described at the outset of the distribution of land (13:8–33), creating geographical separation from the western tribes. The focus on the eastern tribes in Josh 22 builds upon the previous two texts. It marks the fulfillment of the initial request from Joshua for assistance in the conquest (22:1–8; 1:12–18), and it explores the relationship between the western and eastern tribes—diaspora and homeland—in the conflict over the altar (22:9–34; 13:8–33). Central themes in the conflict include the geographical separation between the tribes, the influence of location on the interpretation of the altar, and the role of the Torah of Moses in the negotiated settlement.

PAN-ISRAELITE IDENTITY, GEOGRAPHY, AND MOSAIC AUTHORITY

Joshua 22 begins with the notice that the eastern tribes have fulfilled their obligations to Moses by following Joshua in the conquest of the western land. The fulfillment of the command of Moses links the speech of Joshua (22:1–5) to his opening address to the eastern tribes (1:12–18). The identification of the two and one-half tribes in both speeches (1:12, 22:1) reinforces the twelve-tribe system. The concept of pan-Israelite identity provides the basis for Joshua's original request for assistance, and it is reaffirmed when Joshua confirms the eastern tribes' completion of their obligation. The two speeches (1:12–18, 22:1–5) repeat motifs that reinforce the genealogical unity of the eastern and western tribes. Twice in the opening speech (1:12–18), Joshua refers to the western tribes as the "brothers" of the eastern tribes. He commands the eastern tribes to march before their "brothers" (1:14) and to return home only when Yahweh gives their "brothers" rest (1:15). The motif returns in 22:1–5, repeating precisely the initial commands from the opening speech, only now completed. Joshua states that the eastern tribes did not abandon their "brothers" (22:3) and that Yahweh has now given rest to the western tribes, again identified as "brothers" (22:4). The repetition of command and fulfillment prepares for the return of the eastern tribes to the "land of their ownership" east of the Jordan River (22:4) with a blessing from Joshua (22:6). The return sets the stage for a shift in theme from genealogical unity to geographical separation, which prepares for the focus on Mosaic authority in evaluating the altar of the eastern tribes and its relationship to centralized worship in the western land (22:9–34).

The three accounts of the eastern tribes in Josh 1, 13, and 22 are based on two forms of Mosaic authority, introduced in the "Comments" to Josh 13: One is the present leadership of Joshua, as the servant of Moses, and the other is the past commandments of Moses codified in the Torah of Moses. The two forms of Mosaic authority are established in Josh 1 as background for Josh 13 and 22. In the opening chapter, Joshua is commissioned as the servant of Moses (1:5), while the authority of the past commands of Moses is affirmed by Yahweh (1:7), Joshua, (1:13–14) and the eastern tribes (1:17). The two forms of Mosaic authority eventually combine in the establishment of the central cultic site at Mount Ebal (8:30–35), where Joshua, in his role as the successor of Moses, builds the altar for sacrifice, with the commands of Moses inscribed on its stones. The separation of the tribal territory in Josh 13 sets the stage for examining the geographical reach of the two forms of Mosaic authority. The structure of Josh 13 provides illustration. The active leadership of Joshua, as the servant of Moses, is central in 13:1–7, when the Deity commands him to allocate land west of the Jordan River to the nine and one-half tribes. The focus of the divine command on the land west of the Jordan River clarifies the boundary of Joshua's authoritative leadership. Joshua fades from the narrative in 13:8–33, when the emphasis shifts to the land east of the Jordan River. The reason is that the eastern tribes dwell beyond the sphere of Joshua's authority, living instead under the authority of the commands of Moses. The author repeatedly states that Moses, not Joshua, allocated the land to the two and one-half eastern tribes (e.g., 13:8 [twice], 12, 14, 15, 24, 29, 32).

Joshua 22 follows the same literary design as Josh 13. The chapter begins west of the Jordan River at Shiloh with a focus on Joshua, where he functions in an authoritative role (22:1–8). Joshua confirms the faithfulness of the eastern tribes in following his leadership west of the Jordan, and he also states that they have fulfilled the commands of Moses (22:2). Upon their leaving, Joshua exhorts the two and one-half tribes to observe in the eastern land the teaching of Moses, now identified as "the commandment and the Torah" (22:5). Joshua summarizes the content of the Torah as including central motifs from Deuteronomy, such as loving God, walking in God's way, and observing the commandments with heart and soul (22:5). The exhortation, according to Knauf (2008: 184), employs the vocabulary of Moses from the "introduction to the Torah" in Deut 6–11, which is aimed at providing a creative interpretation for the law of cult centralization in Deut 12. As in Josh 13, Joshua fades from the narrative when the geographical setting shifts from the western to the eastern side of the Jordan River (22:9–34). The design of Josh 22 clarifies that the absence of Joshua in the conflict over the altar is not the result of separate compositions (see "Composition"). Joshua fades from the narrative because the conflict takes place outside of the geographical sphere of his authority, leaving the Torah of Moses as the sole guide for evaluating the altar. The conflict is eventually resolved by the ten "leaders of the congregation" of the western tribes (e.g., 22:14, 30, 32) and the eastern tribes (e.g., 22:9, 10, 11, 13, 21, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34), who each employ the Torah of Moses to present different interpretations of the altar.

ALTAR

The construction of the altar by the eastern tribes immediately after Joshua's farewell blessing is abrupt and unexpected in the development of the plot (Ballhorn, 2011: 414). Such a sharp swing in the story convinced H. N. Rösel (2011: 347) that the significance of the conflict is "not in the plot but in its ideas, conceptions and ideology" (see also Noort, 2020: 224). The ideas emerge through the uncommonly long-winded negotiations that weave in motifs from the first half of the book of Joshua, with links back to the Pentateuch, creating contrasting perspectives on the meaning of the altar (see also Assis, 2004a: 531–34). For this reason, Knauf (2008: 182) interprets Josh 22 as a legal novella that probes how God is present among diaspora Jews.

Geography and identity are brought into sharp relief in the conflict over the altar, when the author confronts the nature of pan-Israelite identity in the context of the homeland and the diaspora tribes. The intertwining of geographical location and identity has been a consistent theme throughout the account of land distribution; it has played a role in the contrasting portrayals of the centrally located sons of Joseph and the tribe of Judah, as well as the tribes in the frontier regions of the western land. But the contrast between western and eastern tribes introduces a more pronounced division that influences the language of identity throughout the chapter (Hawk, 1996; 2000: 227–45). Most notable is the restricted meaning of "Israel."

Knight (2002: 55) noted that the term "Israel" occurs 160 times in Joshua and that its primary meaning signifies pan-Israelite identity of the twelve tribes, as in 3:12: "Now, take for yourselves twelve men from the tribes of Israel, one man for each tribe." He added that a more exclusive meaning is scattered throughout the book, especially when the eastern tribes are contrasted to the western tribes: "And the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh crossed as a fifth column before the Israelites" (4:12; see other references, 11:21, 22, 23; 12:7; 13:6; 18:10). The narrower meaning of "Israel" is concentrated in Josh 22, where nineteen of the references to Israel exclude the eastern tribes (Knight, 2002: 55–56). For example, when the "Israelites" gather at Shiloh to respond to the altar of the eastern tribes, the identification is limited to the western tribes (22:9). The exclusive meaning is reinforced when the delegation of "ten leaders sent from Shiloh" is also described as representing "Israel" (22:13–14).

The restricted meaning of "Israel" indicates that the Jordan River represents the geographical boundary between the western and the eastern tribes (22:10, 11, 19; Havrelock, 2011; Jobling, 1986). The divide is infused with religious significance. The territory west of the Jordan is identified as the "land of Yahweh" (22:19), in contrast to the pollution of the territory east of the Jordan (22:19). The separation is introduced from the perspective of the western tribes; they self-identify as "Israel," and they describe the western side of the Jordan as the "land of Yahweh" (Nelson, 1997: 249). But the intent of the chapter is not to create a polemical story against the eastern tribes (compare Möhlenbrink, 1938: 246). The exclusive meaning of "Israel" is also reaffirmed by the eastern tribes; they too identify the western tribes as "Israel" (22:21–22). Both the western and eastern tribes are equally involved in the central events of the chapter (Hackett, 1987: 130–31; Woudstra, 1981: 316; Assis, 2004a: 536–37). Both employ the Torah of Moses to probe the problem of whether the presence of Yahweh is limited to the western land, and, if not, how it might be extended eastward, while preserving the distinction between the central altar at Mount Ebal and the peripheral altar east of the Jordan River. In the process of finding a solution, the tribes model how they are able to function as an amphictyonic league based on the Torah of Moses.

Three aspects of the description of the altar are important for interpretation: the location by the Jordan River, the identification as an "altar" (*mizbēăḥ*), and the size as "widely visible" (*gādôl lĕmarʾeh*).

The location of the altar by the Jordan River links the story back to the crossing of the river (3:1–5:2), where the eastern tribes led the western tribes as a "fifth column" (4:12). Knight (2002: 55) noted that the restricted meaning of "Israel" to the western tribes appears for the first time in this text (4:12), reinforcing the literary relationship. But the focus of the crossing is not on the difference between the eastern and western tribes as in Josh 22; rather, it is on the intergenerational unity of the tribes, symbolized twice by the twelve stones, which are placed initially on the western side of the Jordan (4:8) and again in the middle of the river (4:9). The twelve stones signify the unity of the twelve tribes in the crossing of the Jordan River.

The identification of the "altar" in Josh 22 introduces a contrast to the "stones" in Josh 4. The "stones" are a "memorial" (4:7) about the crossing of the Jordan. They are identified as symbols for intergenerational teaching (4:7–8, 21–24); they are clearly explained as signifying the power of Yahweh in the ark, displayed in the cutting off of the waters of the Jordan (4:7, 22–23). The altar is not interpreted as a memorial or as a symbol in Josh 22. In fact, it is not interpreted at all; it is only described (Fritz, 1994: 224). The description, "altar," is infrequent outside of Josh 22. Of its fifteen occurrences in Joshua, twelve are in the present story (22:10 [twice], 11, 16, 19 [twice], 23, 26, 28, 29 [twice], 34); two appear in the account of Joshua's establishment of the central cultic site on Mount Ebal (8:30, 31); and one additional occurrence is at the conclusion of the story of the Gibeonites, when it states they serve the altar, defined as the place of the divine name (9:27). The distribution clarifies that the central cultic site on Mount Ebal is the most significant reference to the "altar" outside of Josh 22; it is where Joshua builds an "altar to Yahweh the God of Israel," fulfilling the past command of Moses (8:30–31). The literary connection indicates that Shiloh does not function as the place of sacrifice over against the eastern altar (compare, for example, Snaith, 1978; Assis, 2004a: 532); in fact, Shiloh never functions as a place of sacrifice in the book of Joshua (see the "Comments" to Josh 18). Mount Ebal is the sole place of sacrifice in the book. The connection between the two "altars," one at Mount Ebal and the other east of the Jordan, pulls Josh 22 away from its association with the twelve stones, where the focus was on pan-Israelite identity. The motif of the altar places the story, instead, in the context of centralized worship at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim.

The size of the altar is important; the author states that it is "widely visible" (22:10). Interpreters debate the meaning. It may be a motif that drives the narrative forward, allowing for a rumor to reach the western tribes (Nelson, 1997: 251); it may function as an attempt by the eastern tribes to persuade the western tribes of their aim to maintain unity (Assis, 2004a: 538); it may underscore the cultic function of the altar. All of these interpretations are possible. What emerges most clearly, however, from the size and the visibility of the altar is that its presence cannot be overlooked or ignored (Ballhorn, 2011: 415). The altar is not a private object among the eastern tribes; it is intended to be public and permanent. It is for this reason that the altar demands an interpretation from both the western and the eastern tribes.

CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS

The debate over the meaning of the altar is shaped by the different locations of the western and eastern tribes. The western tribes view the altar as a violation of the central cultic site at Mount Ebal (22:16–20); the eastern tribes view it as an extension of the twelve stones of unity from the crossing of the Jordan (22:22–29). The conflicting points of view create the hermeneutical debate over the meaning of the altar and whether it threatens pan-Israelite unity.

The western tribes describe the building of the eastern altar as rebellion against Yahweh (22:16, 18, 19) and against themselves (22:19). The rebellion against Yahweh is characterized as sacrilege (22:19). This evaluation indicates that the western tribes view the eastern altar from the perspective of the central cultic site at Mount Ebal, not the Jerusalem temple, which plays no role in the book of Joshua (compare Nihan, 2012: 94). They judge the eastern altar as competing with the altar west of the Jordan, making its construction a cultic violation against the sacred (see Josh 7) and a threat to purity (22:17), which could prompt divine wrath in the form of a plague, as at Peor (22:17). For the western tribes, the solution is geographical. The eastern tribes should abandon their land and move west where Yahweh is present (22:19), rather than competing with the central altar at Mount Ebal. The eastern tribes not only rebel against Yahweh, they also rebel against the western tribes themselves. The western tribes state: "And against us do not rebel by building for yourselves an altar other than the altar of Yahweh our God" (22:19). This accusation is followed by reference to Achan (22:20), where his violation of the ban led to the destruction of his entire family. The accusation is grounded in the concept of pan-Israelite identity; by building the altar, the eastern tribes threaten divine wrath not just against themselves, but also against all of the twelve tribes.

The eastern tribes respond to the accusation of sacrilege by shifting the focus from the altar at Mount Ebal to the events at the crossing of the Jordan. Before offering their interpretation of the altar, the eastern tribes introduce the theme of sacrifice in order to reject the interpretation of the western tribes (22:23, 26). The central altar at Mount Ebal is the only location in the book of Joshua where sacrifices are performed, including "burnt offerings" and "well-being offerings" (8:31); it provides the basis for the accusation of sacrilege by the western tribes. The eastern tribes state that their altar is not for sacrifices, clarifying that it was not built to compete with the central cult. In fact, they fear that their children will be excluded in the future from sacrificing at the central sanctuary (22:27). The rejection of the western tribes' interpretation of the altar clears the way for the counterinterpretation of the eastern tribes.

The eastern tribes open their response with the exclamation "El, God, Yahweh" (22:22). Many interpreters (e.g., Kraus, 1993: 491) note that the same reference to the Deity appears in the opening theophany in Ps 50:1: "El, God, Yahweh." Auld (2012: 286) interprets the inner-biblical reference as a call upon God to judge the accusation against them. The call to "El, God, Yahweh" may also refer to the central theophany at the Jordan, where Yahweh was revealed as "El, the living," in the crossing (3:10; Dozeman, 2021); this revelation occasioned the placement of the twelve stones (3:11–12). The eastern tribes explain their motivation for the construction of the altar in 22:24–29. Their aim is to ensure ongoing intergenerational teaching about the crossing of the Jordan—symbolized by the twelve stones—lest the loss of memory exclude their children from the west (22:24–25). The theme of intergenerational instruction anchors the concern of the eastern tribes squarely in the account of the crossing of the Jordan, where twice the twelve stones are described as symbols to prompt intergenerational instruction (4:7–8, 21–24). The theme of intergenerational instruction reaches back to a web of related catechisms in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 12:21–27, 13:11–16; Deut 6:4–25; see "Composition").

NEGOTIATION

Negotiation is contrasted to war in Josh 22. Upon hearing about the altar, the western tribes gather at Shiloh for war against the eastern tribes (22:12). After the negotiation with the eastern tribes, the western tribes "did not speak of going up against them for war" (22:33). The negotiation over the meaning of the altar provides a model for resolving conflicting interpretations that have arisen from innovative practices of religion among the diaspora tribes. The Torah of Moses provides the guidelines. The western tribes state the core requirement in the Torah for a single sanctuary; their interpretation of the altar as sacrilege and rebellion represents the traditional interpretation from the Torah. The impulse for war by the western tribes was to preserve the traditional teaching unchanged. The eastern tribes introduce innovation in religious practice based on their experience of diaspora. The construction of the eastern altar fits uneasily into the Torah's demand for a single sanctuary. For this reason, the burden of interpretation rests with the eastern tribes; they must justify the innovation in religious practice represented by the new altar within the context of the Torah.

The eastern tribes introduce a new interpretation of an "altar" that stretches the boundaries of tradition, while employing the language of the Torah. They describe the altar as a "copy" and as a "witness." Although both terms derive from the Torah, each acquires new meaning in Josh 22.

The motif of "copy" is introduced to counter the accusation of the western tribes that the altar east of the Jordan violated the command for a single sanctuary. The eastern tribes maintain that the altar is not for the purpose of sacrifice. They reject the accusation of the western tribes but also add that the altar is a "copy (*tabnit*) of the altar of Yahweh" (22:28). The Hebrew *tabnît* may describe architectural plans in general, as in 1 Chr 28:19, but its use in the Pentateuch tends to be limited to sanctuaries and cultic practice. Deuteronomy condemns "copies" of humans and animals in worship as idolatry (Deut 4:16–18); this condemnation does not fit the justification of the altar in Josh 22. In Priestly literature, however, the sanctuary is described in a positive manner as a "copy" shown (*mar'eh*) to Moses, which models in some way the Deity's heavenly home (Exod 25:8–9). The use of "copy" in this case introduces degrees of divine presence between Yahweh's dwelling in heaven and the descent of the Kabod Yahweh in the earthly sanctuary, which empowers the sacrificial cultic system (e.g., Exod 24:15–18, 40:34–35; Lev 9:33–34). Yahweh and the Kabod Yahweh are related, but they are not the same (Mettinger, 1982). The phrase "a copy of the altar of Yahweh" in Josh 22:28 may also be intended to introduce degrees of divine presence, in this case between the central sanctuary, where sacrifices take place, and the eastern altar, where no sacrifices take place.

The identification of the eastern altar as a "copy" highlights the separation between homeland and diaspora, and the influence of geography on the distinct quality of divine presence in the west and in the east. The presence of the Deity resides at the central cultic site on Mount Ebal where sacrifices take place (8:30–35). This presence animates the western land, making it "the territory of Yahweh" (8:19). The eastern altar, as a copy of the "altar of Yahweh," represents a different quality of divine presence in the polluted land east of the Jordan River. C. Edenburg (2017: 175) captures the distinction, writing, "Diaspora cult symbols could only serve as a memorial by which to remember their cultural-religious ties with Yehud-Samaria."

The distinctive function of the eastern altar is described as "witness" (*ʿēd;* 22:28, 34). The motif is legal; it indicates testimony in court (e.g., Exod 20:18, 23:1; Deut 5:20, 19:15) and legal contracts between two parties (Gen 21:30). But it can also take on a more religious meaning. Most notable for interpreting Josh 22 is the contract as "witness" between Laban and Jacob (Gen 31:44–54). The central role of Gilead in both stories (Gen 31:44, 48, 50, 52 [twice]; Josh 22:9, 13, 15, 22) points to an inner-biblical relationship, while the shared and expanded meaning of "witness" draws the two stories even closer together. Both designate an object as the "witness," which defines the relationship between the two parties and also becomes a medium of divine presence. The pillar marks the geographical separation between Laban and Jacob (Gen 31:51) and it calls forth the presence of Yahweh to monitor the separate action of the two characters (Gen 31:50). The altar in Josh 22 also marks the geographical separation between the eastern and western tribes, but its significance moves in the opposite direction; it relates the two parties as one (Josh 22:28), while also functioning as the means for revealing to the eastern tribes that "Yahweh is the God" (22:34). The interpretation of the altar as "copy" and as "witness" satisfies the western tribes, who recognize the presence of Yahweh in the new interpretation (22:31), while it also protects the sole sacrificial function of the central cult at Mount Ebal.

SOCIAL SETTING

The conceptual nature of the account of the conflict over the altar has prompted many interpreters to avoid investigating any social context to the story (e.g., Fritz, 1994: 221; Schorn, 1997: 212–14). But others have probed possible social settings for the narrative. Noth (1971b: 133–34) recognized an ancient etiology in the conclusion (22:34), but he judged the original setting to be unclear because of the extensive Priestly reworking of the text (see also Miller and Tucker, 1974: 170). Soggin (1972: 159) sought a more concrete setting for the etiology at Gilgal. Kloppenborg (1981: 366) also assumed an old tradition, but he emphasized the polemical nature of the present form of the narrative. Den Hertog (2003) built on the polemical intent of the narrative, placing the story in the Persian period as a counterargument to the conflict between Nehemiah and Tobiah (e.g., Neh 2:10, 19; 4:3, 6:1–19). Knauf (2008: 183–84) examined the request for a temple by the Elephantine community as a parallel to the topic of multiple cultic sites in Josh 22. Menes (1932) interpreted the altar as a substitute for the temple, which reflected the emergence of postexilic worship without sacrifice associated with the synagogue. He stated that the origin of the tradition reflected the concerns of Jews in the diaspora during the Babylonian exile. Ballhorn (2011: 352) questioned whether the conflict over the altar could be tied specifically to the emergence of the synagogue. But he agreed that the central aim of Josh 22 was to address the problem of the representation of the temple cult outside of the central sanctuary. He added that the issue was not confined to Josh 22 but appears in a range of exilic and postexilic literature, such as Ezek 40–48.

I follow in general the research of Menes and its qualification by Ballhorn. Menes added that the contrast in Josh 22 between the central sanctuary and diaspora worship centered on the Jerusalem temple (see also Vink, 1969). I take the original form of the narrative to be composed from a northern perspective; it is a Samarian composition, in which the conflict between the central sanctuary and the eastern altar is centered on the altar at Mount Ebal, located in the tribal territory of Manasseh. The revision of Josh 22, however, does reflect a southern point of view. The insertion of Phinehas and the "heads of the father's house" into the leadership role and the identification of the central sanctuary as the tabernacle introduce motifs that point to the Jerusalem temple as the central sanctuary.

MANASSEH

Joshua 22:1–8 includes two speeches by Joshua; the first is addressed to the two and one-half eastern tribes (22:1–6), and the second focuses more narrowly on Manasseh (22:7–8). Both speeches are about the return of the tribes to their land of possession, and both end with a blessing (22:6, 8). The second is unexpected, since it shifts the focus from the eastern tribes to include West Manasseh. The speech to Manasseh is in two parts; it includes a description of Manasseh as two half-tribes (22:7) and an address by Joshua about the responsibility of the tribe to share the booty from the conquest (22:8). The description highlights the unique character of Manasseh among the twelve, as a split tribe with land east and west of the Jordan. The division of land relates Manasseh to both Moses and Joshua, as compared to the other tribes, who receive land from only one or the other leader. The text does not explain what the unique status of Manasseh means for evaluating the relationship between the two half-tribes. Perhaps, as noted by Ballhorn (2011: 406), the writer is idealizing the internal structure of Manasseh as modeling pan-Israelite identity.

The motifs in 22:7–8 provide guidelines for interpretation. The description of Manasseh in v. 7 concludes with the blessing, "he (Joshua) blessed them." The focus of the blessing is ambiguous; it is unclear whether the object, "them," is directed to the entire tribe or to one of the half-tribes, especially since the previous statement in v. 7 identified Manasseh as two half-tribes. Context, however, indicates that the blessing is directed to West Manasseh, since East Manasseh was included in the previous blessing (22:6) and it was also described as leaving with the other eastern tribes: "And they (the eastern tribes) went to their tents." The separation of Manasseh into two half-tribes, therefore, is intended to shift the focus to the western half of the tribe.

The speech of Joshua (22:8) reinforces the focus on West Manasseh. The speech indicates that West Manasseh controls the booty from the conquest, including cattle and the precious metals of silver, gold, copper, and iron as well as clothes. The subject of booty appears three times in the stories of the conquest: The theme is introduced at Jericho (6:18–19); it returns in the account of the sacrilege of Achan (7:24); and it appears one last time at Ai (8:27). The destruction of Ai clarifies that all tribes receive the booty of livestock, indicating that the reference to cattle as booty of West Manasseh is not unique but part of the general spoil distributed to all tribes. The story of Jericho indicates that precious metals were forbidden booty for the tribes. Joshua clarifies that metals are "sacred to Yahweh." He adds further that the precious metals of silver, gold, copper, and iron must be placed "into the treasury of Yahweh" (6:19), which introduces the theme of a central sanctuary. The theft of Achan was sacrilege because it included not only a special mantle, but also the precious metals of silver and gold, which were sacred to Yahweh. The speech of Joshua to West Manasseh (22:8) indicates that they are the stewards of the precious metals, which belong to the "treasury of Yahweh," and that they are tasked with sharing this wealth among their "brothers." This responsibility falls to West Manasseh because the central sanctuary at Shechem (24:26) with the altar on Mount Ebal (8:30) is in their territory. The emphasis reflects the Samarian author's northern perspective in the composition of the book of Joshua.

The charge that West Manasseh divide the spoil with their "brothers" is ambiguous (22:8); it can take on a broad or a narrow meaning, as is evident in the MT and the LXX versions of the story. The reference to "brothers" may refer narrowly to East Manasseh, if the context is limited to 22:7–8, where the term "brothers" describes the relationship between East and West Manasseh (22:7). This interpretation would separate West Manasseh from the other eastern tribes of Reuben and Gad, which has already occurred earlier in the book when the daughters of Zelophehad from the tribe of Manasseh claimed western land (17:1–7)—something not done by Reuben and Gad. If, however, the context is extended to include the initial address of Joshua in 22:1–6 where the motif of "brothers" signifies pan-Israelite identity, then the reference to "brothers" would embrace all of the tribes (22:3–4), and East Manasseh would not be distinguished in any way from Reuben and Gad. The two interpretations may account for the contrasting presentations of the conflict over the altar in the MT and the LXX. The focus on only Reuben and Gad in the MT version of the conflict (22:25, 32, 33, 34) underscores the unique status of East Manasseh, making it separate from the other two eastern tribes. In contrast to this, the LXX includes East Manasseh with Reuben and Gad, eliminating any distinction among the eastern tribes.

Remaining Nations (23:1–16)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The events surrounding the distribution of land (Josh 13–23) are framed by the themes of the remaining land (13:1–7) and the remaining nations (23:1–16). The two speeches share similar themes. In each, Joshua is described as old (13:1a, 23:1), and the conquest of the land west of the Jordan is described as incomplete, with regard to both the land (13:1b–6) and the indigenous nations (23:2b–16). The warning about the danger of the remaining nations in Josh 23 may be divided into three parts. It begins with an introduction (23:1–2a). The speech of Joshua follows in two parts. The first evaluates the remaining nations during the period of Joshua's leadership (23:2b–8); the second addresses the danger of the remaining nations after the death of Joshua (23:9–16). Joshua 23 may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Rest from Enemies (23:1–2a)
2. Joshua and the Remaining Nations (23:2b–8)
    - A. Joshua and Past Conquest (23:2b–4)
    - B. Yahweh and Future Conquest (23:5)
    - C. Israel and Obedience (23:6–8)
3. Israel and the Remaining Nations (23:9–16)
    - A. Israel and Past Conquest (23:9–10)
    - B. Israel and Obedience (23:11–13)
    - C. Yahweh and the Threat of Future Curses (23:14–16)

Translation

23:1–2A. REST FROM ENEMIES

23 [1]And many days after Yahweh had given rest to Israel from all of their enemies all around and Joshua was old and advanced in years, [2]Joshua called all of Israel, its elders, its heads, its judges, and its scribes, and he said to them:

23:2B–8. JOSHUA AND THE REMAINING NATIONS

23 "I am old and I am advanced in years. [3]But you have seen all that Yahweh your God did to all these nations before you, for Yahweh your God, he has fought for you. [4]See, I have allocated to you these remaining nations as an inheritance for your tribes; all the nations that I have cut off from the Jordan to the Great Sea toward the setting of the sun.

[5]"But Yahweh, your God, he will push them away from before you. And he will dispossess them from before you. And you will take over their land as Yahweh your God spoke to you.

[6]"Be very strong to observe and to do all that is written in the book of the Torah of Moses. Do not turn from it to the right or left. [7]Do not interact with these remaining nations. The name of their gods you will not remember, you will not swear, you will not serve them, and you will not worship them. [8]But to Yahweh your God you will cling as you have done until this day.

23:9–16. ISRAEL AND THE REMAINING NATIONS

23 [9]"Yahweh has dispossessed from before you great and strong nations. But as for you, no one has stood before you until this day. [10]One person from you pursues a thousand, because Yahweh your God he has fought for you, as he said to you.

[11]"You must carefully guard yourselves to love Yahweh your God. [12]For if you turn and you cling to the rest of these remaining nations, and you worship with them, and you intermarry with them and they with you, [13]then you must know for certain that Yahweh your God will not continue to dispossess these nations from before you. They will be to you a trap, a snare, a thorn in your sides, and pricks in your eyes, until you perish from this good ground that Yahweh your God gave you.

[14]"For certain I am going this day the way of all the earth. You know with all of your heart and with all your soul that not one word has fallen from all the good words that Yahweh your God spoke to you. All of it came to you. A single word did not fall from it. [15]And just as every good word came to you that Yahweh your God spoke to you, thus Yahweh will bring on you every evil word until he has destroyed you from this good ground that Yahweh your God gave to you. [16]When you break the covenant of Yahweh your God that he commanded you and you walk after and serve other gods, and you worship them, the anger of Yahweh will burn against you. And you will be destroyed quickly from the good land that he gave you."

Notes

The contrasts between the MT and the LXX are minimal. There are variations in the identity of the leaders (23:2), while the LXX includes an addition describing how Yahweh will defeat the nations (24:5); it also lacks the command that Israel not remember the gods of the nations (24:7).

23:4 *all the nations that I have cut off from the Jordan to the Great Sea toward the setting of the sun.* My translation departs from the order of the MT. The Hebrew may be divided into three phrases: The first is a geographical reference, *min-hayyardēn,* "from the Jordan," to indicate the eastern border of the land. The second phrase shifts from geography to the indigenous nations, *wĕkōl-haggôyim 'ăšer hikrattî,* "all the nations that I have cut off." The third returns to the topic of geography, *wehayyām haggādôl mĕbô' haššāmeš,* "(to) the Great Sea toward the setting of the sun," to indicate the western border of the land. The LXX follows the MT. My translation follows in general the solution of Steuernagel (1923: 296) that the reference to the nations in the second phrase be placed at the beginning before the geographical reference to the Jordan River and that the preposition "to" or "until" be placed before "the Great Sea."

23:5 *But Yahweh, your God, he will push them away from before you. And he will dispossess them from before you. And you will take over their land as Yahweh your God spoke to you.* The MT may be divided in two parts: First, it states that Yahweh will wage war against the indigenous nations, employing the Hiphil form of the verb *yāraš,* "to dispossess." Second, it states that the Israelites will "inherit," or "take over," the land, employing the Qal form of the verb *yāraš,* "to inherit." The LXX follows the two-part structure of the MT, but it contains a plus to the MT. In the first part, the LXX follows the MT in stating that the Lord would wage war against the indigenous nations, "And the Lord your God will utterly destroy them from before you until they have perished." The LXX goes beyond the MT in the second half of the verse, providing further information on how the Deity will wage war and that the war is against kings: "He will send wild beasts against them and their kings." Interpreters note the influence of Exod 23:28, Deut 7:20, and Lev 26:22 on the more detailed description in the LXX (see Butler, 2014b: 267).

23:7 *Do not interact with these remaining nations.* The Hebrew *lĕbiltî-bô',* "do not enter," most likely has sexual meaning, although I have translated more broadly, "do not interact." The use of the verb *bô'* to indicate intercourse also appears in the stories of Rahab (2:3–4) and Othniel (15:18). The LXX may also convey sexual meaning: *hopōs mē eiselthēte eis ta ethne ta katalelemmena,* "so that you do not go into these nations that are left." The theme of intermarriage appears later in 23:12.

you will not remember, you will not swear. Absent in the LXX. The meaning of the Hebrew *ûbĕšēm 'ĕlōhêhem lō'-tazkîrû* most likely indicates the act of taking an oath by another God (Smelik, 1999: 325).

23:13 *trap.* The Hebrew *šōṭēṭ* is of uncertain meaning, appearing only in this verse (*HALOT* 1474). The Greek writes *pagidas,* "snare, trap," which I am following in my translation. See Barthélemy (1982: 70)

23:14 *good words.* The word "good" is absent in the LXX.

23:16 *And you will be destroyed quickly from the good land that he gave you.* Absent in the LXX.

Composition

Joshua 23 contains Joshua's speech to Israel at the conclusion of the distribution of the tribal territory. In it he encourages the tribes to be obedient to Yahweh by separating themselves from the nations who remain in the land. The rhetoric of the speech is complex and repetitive, making the discernment of its structure difficult, yet it is also distinctive in style. Two criteria have been prominent in the evaluation of the composition: The predominance of Deuteronomistic motifs, which also appear in similar speeches in Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and the conflict introduced into Joshua with the theme of the incomplete conquest.

DEUTERONOMISTIC MOTIFS AND THE DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY

The early source critics focused on the distinctive style of Josh 23. Wellhausen (1889: 134), for example, noted in passing that the entire chapter was a Deuteronomistic composition without exploring the internal structure of the text or the larger literary context. Steuernagel (1923: 296) echoed the conclusion of Wellhausen. He too evaluated Josh 23 as Deuteronomistic, while refining the analysis to identify the chapter as part of the later layer of composition, noting similarities between Josh 23 and Deut 28 (see the "Comments").

Noth (1981b) changed the criteria for evaluating Josh 23 and has influenced interpretation to the present time. He agreed with the general conclusion of source criticism that the text was a Deuteronomistic composition, but he reevaluated the literary context. He argued that Josh 23 was part of a series of speeches distributed throughout the Deuteronomistic History—by which he meant a body of literature extending from Deuteronomy through Kings. The Deuteronomistic History was composed by a single author, writing from a southern perspective to account for the fall of the kingdom of Judah and the destruction of Jerusalem. The author organized divergent traditional sources through the insertion of speeches by leading characters at important junctures or at concluding points in the story; these included Moses (Deut 1–4), Joshua (Josh 1, 23), Samuel (1 Sam 12), and Solomon (1 Kgs 8). The speeches were complemented by summary statements, such as the list of conquered nations (Josh 12), the failure of the tribes to conquer the land (Judg 2:11ff.), and the fall of the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs 17:7ff.). The speeches and the summary conclusions were similar in language, style, and content, indicating their composition by the same author, identified as the "Deuteronomistic Historian." The aim of the author was to use the law in Deuteronomy as the theological standard for tracing the moral and political decline of Israel from the period of the tribes (Joshua and Judges) through the monarchy (1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings) to account for the loss of the Southern Kingdom of Judah in the exile.

Joshua 23 was central to Noth's identification of the Deuteronomistic form of Joshua; it also influenced his interpretation of the function of Joshua within the Deuteronomistic History (1971b: 9–10). The Deuteronomistic form of Joshua was structured with an introduction (1:1–18) and a conclusion (23:1–16), which linked the book backward to Deuteronomy and forward to Judges, Samuel, and Kings. Noth interpreted both Josh 1 and 23 as unified compositions by the Deuteronomistic Historian (see the commentary to Josh 1). He conceded additions in Josh 23 (e.g., 23:3, 4, 7, 12), but these did not change the meaning of the Deuteronomistic version of Josh 23 in any significant way (1971b: 133). Thus, the Deuteronomistic form of Joshua concluded with the speech in Josh 23, which emphasized the conditional nature of the land based on obedience. Joshua 23 progressed directly to the account of tribal disobedience in Judges (Judg 2:11ff.) as the next episode in the Deuteronomistic History. The inclusion of the ceremony at Shechem (Josh 24) created the problem of the double ending in the present form of the book of Joshua (1971b: 10).

The interpretation of Noth dominated research. Subsequent interpreters built on Noth's conclusion; they interpreted Josh 23 as a central text within the Deuteronomistic History (e.g., Knauf, 2008; Nelson, 1997; Fritz, 1994; Krause, 2015). The incomplete conquest and the conditional possession of the land required that the Israelites be obedient to Yahweh by remaining separate from the indigenous nations (Soggin, 1972; H. N. Rösel, 2011; Butler, 2014b). The same themes are repeated in subsequent speeches and summaries (e.g., Judg 2:11ff; 1 Sam 12; 1 Kgs 8; 2 Kgs 17:7ff.), creating the literary infrastructure of the Deuteronomistic History.

CONFLICT IN THE THEME OF THE CONQUEST AND THE ENDING TO THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

The problem with Noth's interpretation of the Deuteronomistic composition of Joshua is that the book is less unified in theme than he assumed (Peckham, 1994). The warnings of disobedience and the potential loss of the land in Josh 23, based on the incomplete conquest and the presence of the remaining nations, did not correspond to other texts, which assumed the unconditional promise of the land and the completed conquest (e.g., 1:1–6, 11:23, 21:43–45). The conflict in themes suggested multiple authors in the composition of Joshua, and this challenged Noth's identification of a single author of the Deuteronomistic form of the book. Interpreters sought to identify the authors in order to account for the conflicting themes, which, in turn, raised questions about the role of Josh 23 in the larger literary design of the Deuteronomistic History. Research branched out in two directions: Some argued for a history of composition within Josh 23 to account for the conflicting themes, while others identified Josh 23 and 24 as distinct compositions with separate themes, which influenced the evaluation of the ending of the book of Joshua.

F. M. Cross (1973: 219–89) argued for a history of composition in Josh 23. He agreed with Noth's identification of the Deuteronomistic History as a literary work, but he rejected Noth's assumption of one exilic author developing the single theme of the conditional promise of land. Cross argued for two versions of the Deuteronomistic History. The first was written during the Josianic reform and was multithemed (Dtr1). This version included the unconditional royal promise reflected in the oracle of Nathan to David (2 Sam 7). The fall of Jerusalem prompted a second exilic revision (Dtr2), which accentuated the condemnation of Manasseh for worshiping foreign gods (2 Kgs 21:2–15) and the loss of the land after the fall of Jerusalem. Both versions are evident in the composition of Josh 23. The fulfillment of the unconditional promise of land (Dtr1) is contained in 23:2–10, 14; the conditional promise with the threat of the loss of land for disobedience (Dtr2) is introduced in 23:11–13, 15–16 (see also Boling and Wright, 1982: 508; Nelson, 1981: 21). The history of composition in Josh 23 accounted for the multiple themes in Joshua, according to Cross; he did not address the literary relationship of Josh 23 and 24 in evaluating the ending to the book.

Römer (2006: 525–35) sought to address both the problem of the ending of Joshua (Josh 23, 24) and the conflicting themes with a reevaluation of the composition of Josh 23 (see variations in Nihan, 2012: 100–103; Krause, 2015: 416–17; Frevel, 2013a, 2018). To this end, he linked the study of composition with an assessment of the changing literary context of the book of Joshua. Joshua 23 was the original ending of the book, according to Römer, but it went through two stages of composition as the context of the book also changed. The original version of Josh 23 (vv. 1–3, 9, 11, 14–16a; compare Becker, 2006: 149–52) was a farewell speech, in which the conquest was completed (23:9) as the fulfillment of the divine promise of land (23:5); its themes are related to the summary of the conquest in 21:43–45. This version of Josh 23 represented the composition of Joshua as a literary work connected to the book of Deuteronomy, first proposed by N. Lohfink (1981) as the "Land-Conquest Narrative" (*Landeroberungserzählung* = DtrL). The additions within Josh 23 (vv. 4–8, 10, 12–13) introduced the theme of the incomplete conquest and the threat of the remaining nations, which required the Israelites to obey Yahweh by keeping separate from the nations (Römer, 2006: 530–35); it was intended to relate Deuteronomy–Joshua to the book of Judges, where the tribe's relationship to Yahweh is conditioned upon obedience. The process indicated that the Deuteronomistic History was not the creation of one author, as Noth assumed, but a multistaged process of composition, in which books functioned more independently before being brought together. For Römer, the process included the merging of at least three separate bodies of literature: Deuteronomy–Joshua, the combination of Deuteronomy–Joshua with Judges, and the further linking with Samuel–Kings, which creates the full literary scope of the Deuteronomistic History. The double ending to the book of Joshua occurred with the late addition of Josh 24, which was unrelated to the composition of Josh 23. The addition of Josh 24 was aimed at creating yet another literary work, the Hexateuch.

The interpretation of Josh 23 as a multiauthored text influenced the broader understanding of the Deuteronomistic History. Some interpreters modified Noth's original hypothesis, and others departed from it. Krause (2015: 420 passim) continued to follow Noth's model of the Deuteronomistic History, interpreting the original form of Josh 23 (vv. 3, 6, 11, 14–16a) as a hinge reaching back to Deuteronomy and ahead to the subsequent history of Israel in the land. Blum (2006, 2018) partially followed Noth, linking an early version of Josh 23 with the death notice of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10. But unlike Noth he identified the original version of Josh 23 as a much later composition—the second stage in the editing of the Deuteronomistic History, with an even later revision introducing the theme of the remaining nations. Kratz (2005: 208–10) departed further from Noth, identifying the original Deuteronomistic composition as including parts of both Josh 23 (23:1b–3) and Josh 24 (24:14b, 15a [part], 16, 18b, 22, 28), which continued into Judges (2:7–10). Subsequent Deuteronomistic revisions introduced the themes of the remaining nations and incomplete conquest (e.g., 23:4–16; 24:15, 17–18a) while also expanding similar themes in Judges (e.g., 2:1–5, 2:20–3:6; compare also Aurelius, 2008).

Smend (1971b) offered a different literary solution. He addressed the problem of the multiple themes by interpreting Josh 23 as a unified composition that contrasted to Josh 24. Joshua 23 represented the conditional form of covenant, while Josh 24 was unconditional. Smend argued that the composition of both Josh 23 and Josh 24 functioned within the literary framework of the Deuteronomistic History; thus, each composition provided transition from the book of Joshua to Judges. Joshua 24 was the original ending to the book of Joshua within the Deuteronomistic History (DtrH); it emphasized the completed conquest of the land as the fulfillment of the divine promise (11:23–25). The death of Joshua and the faithfulness of his generation, noted at the conclusion of Joshua (24:28–31), provide transition in DtrH to the rise of a new, unfaithful generation in Judg 2:10ff. Joshua 23 was a later addition that introduced the theme of the incomplete conquest and the danger of the remaining indigenous nations. Smend identified Josh 23 as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN); it was part of the larger revision of Joshua, which included the conditional promise of the land (1:7–9) and the incomplete conquest resulting in the "remaining land" (13:1b–6). The insertion of Josh 23 was evident in the statement of Joshua's old age (23:1), which Smend interpreted as a repetition from the more original notice in 13:1a—just the reverse of Noth. Joshua 23 provided a new conclusion to the book, which emphasized the conditional nature of the gift of the land based on obedience to the law. In so doing, it also displaced the original ending of Josh 24, making it function somewhat awkwardly in the present form of the book as an appendix. The themes of the incomplete conquest and the danger of the indigenous nations in DtrN were further developed in the book of Judges, specifically in the stories of the partial conquest in Judg 1:1–2:5. The DtrN insertion of Judg 1:1–2:5 concluded with the second notice of Joshua's death (2:6–9), which was intended to function as a resumptive repetition of the original notice of his death in Josh 24:29–31 in order to return to the original plot of the DtrH narrative.

I build on aspects of the research of Römer and Smend in the "Comments." I follow Smend in interpreting Josh 23 as a unified composition inserted secondarily into the book of Joshua as part of a series of additions that include the conditional promise of land (1:7–9) and the incomplete conquest (13:1b–6). I depart from Smend, however, in his conclusion that Josh 23 and 24 represent two endings to the book of Joshua. Joshua 23 was inserted with 13:1b–6 to reinterpret the distribution of the tribal territory (13:1–23:16) with the themes of the remaining land (13:1b–6) and the remaining nations (23:1–16). Joshua 23 was never intended to provide the ending to the book of Joshua. The focus of Josh 23 on the preceding material is underscored by the repetition of Joshua's old age (13:1a, 23:1), which holds the two texts together. The covenant ceremony at Shechem in Josh 24 functioned as the conclusion to the book of Joshua at all stages of its composition. I follow Römer in favoring a gradual combination of distinct books or bodies of literature in the formation of the Deuteronomistic History. But I depart from Römer's interpretation of Joshua as having been composed in conjunction with the book of Deuteronomy (DtrL). I interpret Joshua as an independent book, composed from a wide range of pentateuchal literature, which exceeds the themes of Deuteronomy and therefore precludes the identification of an original "Land-Conquest Narrative" of Deuteronomy–Joshua. The identification of larger literary works, such as the Hexateuch or the Enneateuch, results from the placement of the book of Joshua in its present narrative context at the proto-canonical stage of development (see the "Introduction").

Comments

NATIONS

Joshua 23 introduces a new motif into the book of Joshua. Repeatedly the non-Israelite people in the land are identified as the "nations" (*gôyim;* 23:3, 4 [twice], 7, 9, 12, 13). The identification of the Israelites and the indigenous people throughout the book of Joshua provides context for interpreting the nations in Josh 23. The motif occurs earlier in the book to describe the Israelites as a nation during the crossing of the Jordan River (*gôy;* 3:7; 4:1; 5:6, 8; see also the inset poem in 10:13). This description is likely unrelated to Josh 23; it may reflect the influence of Priestly literature (e.g., Gen 17:16, 35:11) upon the author of Joshua or late literature in Deuteronomy (e.g., 4:6, 8, 34). The term "nation" to describe Israel is unusual in the book of Joshua. The description of the Israelites more often includes the term "people" to describe their collective identity (e.g., 1:2, 6; 3:3, 5; 4:2, 10; 5:4; 6:7, 8; 13:31; 15:13; 17:14; 24:2, 16; and so forth), when not employing the language of the "tribes." Non-Israelites also tend to be described as "people" (*ʿam*), usually associated concretely with a particular king or a specific region, such as the population of Ai (e.g., 8:1, 14, 16), the followers of King Horam (10:33), or the indigenous population in Joshua's northern campaign (11:14). The description of the indigenous people as nations is unique to Josh 23. The absence of the term "people," associated with concrete place, in favor of the abstract reference to "nations" isolates Josh 23 (O'Brien, 1989: 76), while also indicating that it is an addition to the book. The abstract nature of the motif, without concrete reference, advances the theme of a general and pervasive threat to Israel that permeates the land, mirroring a similar use of the motif in Deuteronomy (e.g., 2:4, 10; 3:28; 4:6; 5:28; and so forth). The continued threat of the remaining nations in Josh 23 contrasts with the completed conquest of the land and the absence of the indigenous people in other statements throughout the book (e.g., 1:1–6, 11:23, 21:43–45).

The profile of the nations in Josh 23 is abstract: The term does not specify any particular group or specific place; it does not even include reference to the stereotyped list of the indigenous nations that appear elsewhere in Joshua—the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (e.g., 3:10, 9:1, 11:3, 12:8, 24:11). The nations are described as "enemies," which has also characterized many of the conquered peoples in the land (e.g., 7:8, 12; 10:19; 22:8). Although the nations lack specific identity, they are strong (23:9). In spite of this, Yahweh (23:3) and Joshua (23:4) were able partially to defeat them, leaving survivors (23:12) in the land (23:4). The resulting danger is the temptation for Israel to mix with the nations (23:7) and even to intermarry with them (23:12). Such action would prevent Yahweh from completing the expulsion of the nations (23:13), underscoring the conditional nature of the divine gift of the land.

The motif of the nations in Josh 23 repeats themes from Deuteronomy. There, too, the nations are identified with the indigenous population (7:17), and even with the stereotyped list of the "Hittites, Gergashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites" (7:1). More often, however, the reference to the nations lacks a more concrete identification, as in Josh 23. In Deuteronomy, they were conquered (e.g., 7:22, 9:1, 11:23, 12:29, 31:1). But like Josh 23, they are also powerful (7:17, 11:23) and they continue to linger, providing the temptation for Israel to participate in their worship practice (e.g., 9:4; 12:2; 18:9, 14), which would lead to the loss of the land (e.g., 4:27; 28:65; 29:18, 24; 30:1). Deuteronomy extends the motif to include the nations outside of the promised land, whom the Israelites may also encounter in exile (e.g., 4:27, 28:65, 30:1).

The unique use of the nations in Josh 23 indicates that the chapter is an addition to the book of Joshua. The evaluation of the content and literary style clarifies that Josh 23 is a unified composition. M. O'Brien (1989: 77) divides the chapter into four sections: 23:1–2ba, 2bb–8, 9–13, 14–16, with the final three sections providing commentary

on 21:43–45. Josh 23 contrasts to 21:43–45, however, in language and in the view of the conquest as completed. I interpret Josh 23 to be structured with an introduction (23:1–2a) followed by an extended speech in two parts: One recounts Joshua's leadership (23:2b–8) and the other focuses on the Israelites (23:9–16). Both parts blend the past partial success of conquest with the need for Israel to remain vigilant in observing the Torah of Moses to complete the task in the future.

INTRODUCTION: JOSH 23:1–2A

The introduction in Josh 23:1–2a lacks a clear setting, enhancing the abstract character of the chapter with its focus on the pervasive danger of the nations. The central themes include rest from enemies (23:1a), the old age of Joshua (23:1b), and the identification of the audience without a clear setting (23:2a). The themes clarify that Josh 23 is related to the insertion of the remaining land in 13:1b–6; the texts frame the distribution of the tribal territory (Josh 13–23) with the themes of the incomplete conquest, "the remaining land" (13:1–7), and the lingering danger of the indigenous people, "the remaining nations" (23:1–16).

The motif of "rest" links Josh 23 with the accounts of the conquest (e.g., 1:13, 15; 11:23) and the distribution of land (e.g., 13:22, 14:15, 21:43–45, 22:4). Throughout the book, rest signifies the completed conquest and the possession of the land as the fulfillment of the divine promise. It is introduced in the opening speech to the eastern tribes; they already have rest (1:13), but they must now participate in achieving the same rest for the western tribes (1:15), which is completed when the eastern tribes are sent home (22:4). The motif also appears at the conclusion of the conquest to signal completion (11:23). Rest from war returns during the distribution of land, underscoring again the completed conquest when the Anakim are destroyed (14:15) and the conquest is summarized (21:43–45). Joshua 23 departs from the established meaning of the rest; it signifies a temporary condition (23:1a), because of the threat posed by the remaining nations (23:4).

The notice of Joshua's old age (23:1b) is a repetition from the introduction to the allotment of the tribal territory (13:1a, 7), where the motif of old age (13:1a) was tied to the divine command to divide the western land (13:7; see the "Comments" to Josh 13). The motif in 13:1a marked the transition in Joshua's leadership from the warrior to the arbitrator of land claims after the completion of the conquest. The insertion of the remaining land (13:1b–6) expanded the role of Joshua in his old age to include advocacy for further conquest. The tension in the portrayal of Joshua is one indication that the theme of the remaining land is a secondary development in the composition of 13:1–7. The motif of Joshua's old age in Josh 23 is based solely on the addition in 13:1b–6. The portrait of Joshua as the arbitrator of the tribal territory in the original introduction (13:1a, 7) is absent. Joshua functions only as the advocate for the completion of the conquest, with the focus shifting from the remaining land (13:1–7) to the remaining nations (23:1–16).

The seamless relationship between the motif of Joshua's old age in the introduction (23:1–2a) and in his speech about the danger of the remaining nations (23:2b, 14) reinforces his role as the advocate for further conquest; it also indicates the dependence of Josh 23 on the present form of 13:1–7 (Smend, 1971b; compare Noth, 1971b: 133). Both texts are later additions to the book of Joshua. The interdependence raises the further question of whether the theme of the remaining nations was intended to be read inner-biblically with the list of the people in 13:1b–6 who continue to occupy the remaining land (e.g., Philistines, Geshurites, Canaanites, Sidonians, Gebalites). The abstract character of the nations in Josh 23, however, cautions against such a specific reading, favoring instead a more general interpretation of a more pervasive unidentifiable danger.

Joshua 23:2a identifies the audience of Joshua's speech but lacks a setting. The audience is pan-Israelite in scope, with four distinct leadership groups: the elders, heads, judges, and scribes (23:2a). The same audience appears in the closing assembly at Shechem in the MT of 24:1; it too is directed to all Israel and includes the identical four groups of leaders. The repetition indicates a literary tie between the two texts, although interpreters debate the direction of the inner-biblical relationship (see the "Comments" to Josh 24). When the comparison is expanded to include setting, it becomes clear that 24:1 is the original version. The details in 24:1 fit the larger narrative context, in which the eastern tribes have departed to their own territory in Josh 22. The dispersion of the tribes is taken into account in 24:1 with the notice that Joshua gathered the tribes at Shechem for the final assembly. The absence of setting in 23:1–2a disrupts the plot of the original form of the book of Joshua; it ignores the departure of the eastern tribes in Josh 22, even though the intended audience in Josh 23 is "all Israel." The inclusion of the leaders links Josh 23 to the closing assembly at Shechem. The content of Josh 23, however, as a warning against the remaining nations, indicates that the central focus of the chapter is the theme of the "remaining land" in the introduction (13:1–7) of the division of the tribal territory.

SPEECH

The speech of Joshua is a unified composition. The central theme is the conditional nature of the conquest requiring Israel to remain separate from the nations. The speech is structured in two parts: It initially recounts Joshua's leadership (23:2b–8), before focusing more directly on the Israelites (23:9–16). Both parts blend the partial success of the conquest in the past with the need for Israel to remain vigilant in observing the Torah of Moses as the means for securing the land into the future.

The first half of the speech (23:2b–8) reviews the success of the conquest under Joshua's leadership. It may be divided into three parts: Joshua and the past conquest (23:2b–4), Yahweh and the future conquest (23:5), and the Israelite need to be obedient to the Torah of Moses as the bridge from the past to the future (23:6–8). The entire speech represents a conditional view of the conquest based on obedience. The shift in time from Joshua's past success (23:2b–4) to Yahweh's future completion (23:5) does not represent competing interpretations of the conquest within a history of composition; it highlights instead the central role of Israel's obedience to the Torah of Moses as the means for linking the two.

The speech is composed for the most part from late Deuteronomistic literature, with additional motifs that are unique to Josh 23. The Deuteronomistic motifs include the call to see the past salvation of Yahweh (Josh 23:3; Deut 4:3; 29:2, 17); the declaration that Yahweh fights for Israel (Josh 23:3; see also v. 10; Deut 1:30; 3:22; 10:4, 14, 42; 20:4); the prediction that Yahweh will "push away" the nations (Josh 23:5; Deut 6:19, 9:4–5); the demand that Israel not turn to the left or to the right (Josh 23:6; see also 1:7; Deut 2:27; 5:32; 17:11, 20; 28:14), not serve other gods (Josh 23:7; Deut 4:19; 5:9; 6:13; 7:4, 16), and not worship other gods (Josh 23:7; see also v. 12; Deut 4:19, 5:9, 8:19, 11:16, 17:3, 29:26) but instead cling to Yahweh (Josh 23:8; Deut 10:20, 13:4). There are also motifs that depart from Deuteronomistic rhetoric, including the command that the Israelites "not remember" the "names of their [the nations'] gods" and also "not swear" by other gods (Josh 23:7). Deuteronomy commands the Israelites to remember Yahweh (Deut 5:15, 7:18, 8:2) and to swear by the name of Yahweh (6:13). But these motifs in Deuteronomy are not applied as prohibitions against other gods, as in Josh 23.

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The second half of the speech (23:9–16) reviews the conquest from the perspective of the Israelite people. It too is a unified section of literature that may be divided into three parts: Israel and the past conquest (23:9–10), the command to separate from the nations (23:11–13), and the threat of future curses from Yahweh (23:14–16). As in the first part, the entire speech is based on a conditional view of the possession of the land, which is underscored once again by contrasting the past and the future. The past success of Israel in the conquest (23:9–10) is set against the open-ended nature of the future as a time of potential blessing or cursing (23:14–16); the outcome will be determined by whether Israel remains separate from the nations (23:11–12). Thus, the logic of the second section is similar to that of the first, in that both underscore obedience as the key for possessing the land into the future.

The second half of the speech is also composed from late Deuteronomistic texts, while containing a variety of distinctive motifs. The Deuteronomistic motifs include the reference to "nations greater and stronger than you" (Josh 23:9; Deut 4:38, 7:1 [the seven indigenous nations], 9:1, 11:23), the image of one Israelite warrior pursuing a thousand (Josh 23:10, Deut 32:30), the command not to intermarry (Josh 23:12, Deut 7:3), the description of the nations as a "snare" (*môqēš;* Josh 23:13, Deut 7:16), and the requirement that Israel not make a covenant with the nations (Josh 23:16, Deut 7:2). The speech also departs from Deuteronomistic style. The description of the remaining nations as a potential "trap" (*paḥ*), for example, is absent from Deuteronomy, as is the phrase "a thorn (*ûlĕšōṭēṭ*) in your sides and pricks (*wĕliṣninîm*) in your eyes" (Josh 23:13), which echoes Num 33:55, where the remaining people in the land are described as "barbs (*śikkîm*) in your eyes and pricks (*ṣĕnînim*) in your sides." Yet even in this case, the motifs diverge. Finally, the additional warning that Israel not cling (*ûdĕbqtem;* 23:12) to the nations also departs from Deuteronomy, which restricts the motif to underscore obedience to Yahweh ("to him [Yahweh] you shall cling," Deut 10:20, 13:4; see also Josh 23:8).

The literary study of Josh 23 indicates a unified composition dependent on late Deuteronomistic literature, but not restricted to it; the author adds original motifs, while also engaging literature from Numbers. The central theme is the lingering threat of the remaining nations. The theme of the remaining nations (23:1–16) is intended to provide the counterpoint to the problem of the remaining land (13:1–7); the two texts are inserted together into the book of Joshua. The themes reframe and modify the completed distribution of the land to the tribes (13:8–19:51). The emphasis throughout the speech is that only faithfulness to the Torah of Moses can link the partial success of the conquest in the past with its fulfillment in the future.

THE TORAH OF MOSES

The theme of the Torah of Moses acquires two meanings in the book of Joshua (see the "Comments" to Josh 8). It plays an important role for the author of the book, who interprets the conquest as completed (8:30–33); it is equally important for the author of the revision of the book, who introduces the theme of the incomplete conquest (1:7–8, 8:34–35, 23:6). The author of Joshua introduces the theme of the Torah of Moses as a resource for blessing. The author introduces the theme when the ark processes to its resting place at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem (8:30–33). At the site, Joshua builds an altar of uncut stones (8:31) before writing on them a "copy of the Torah of Moses" (8:32). The inscription of the Torah of Moses results in a divine blessing on the twelve tribes from the two mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:33). The legal revision of the book of Joshua, with the emphasis on the conditional covenant and the incomplete conquest, also employs the theme of the Torah of Moses, but the emphasis shifts. The Torah becomes a standard for obedience that will allow the Israelites to complete the conquest of the land. In 1:7–8, Joshua is encouraged to meditate on the "book of the Torah" as a condition for success in the conquest. The need for obedience to the Torah is also introduced in the cultic ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim, where the Torah is not simply a resource for blessing (8:32), but also a source for potential blessings and curses (8:34–35). Joshua 23 combines the themes from both 1:7–8 and 8:34–35. It reiterates the need for Israel to be obedient to the Torah of Moses as a condition for success in completing the conquest (23:5–6), as was the case with Joshua (1:7–8). It also repeats the warning that the future may contain curses (23:14–16), as in the conclusion to the worship ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim (8:34–35; see the continuation of the same theme in 1 Kgs 2:1–4).

Shechem Assembly (24:1–33)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 24 recounts the concluding assembly of the twelve tribes and the burial of the heroes of the book. The introduction establishes the setting at Shechem (24:1). Joshua reviews the history of salvation (24:2–13) as a prelude to a ceremony in which the Israelites pledge exclusive allegiance to Yahweh as the God of Israel (24:14–27). Joshua 24:28–33 concludes the book with the notice of three burials: Joshua (24:29–31), the bones of Joseph (24:32), and Eleazar (24:33). Joshua 24 may be outlined in the following manner:

1. Assembly at Shechem (24:1–27)
    A. Setting (24:1)
    B. Salvation History (24:2–13)
    C. Legal Ceremony (24:14–27)
2. Death and Burial (24:28–33)
    A. Departure of Tribes (24:28)
    B. Joshua (24:29–31)
    C. Bones of Joseph (24:32)
    D. Eleazar (24:33)

Translation

24:1–27. ASSEMBLY AT SHECHEM

24 [1]And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel at Shechem. And he called to the elders of Israel, its heads, its judges, and its scribes. And they stationed themselves before God.

[2]And Joshua said to all the people:
"Thus said Yahweh the God of Israel.

“‘Across the River your fathers dwelled from time immemorial—Terah the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor. And they served other gods. [3]I took your father Abraham from across the River and I led him through all the land of Canaan. And I multiplied his seed and I gave him Isaac. [4]And I gave Isaac Jacob and Esau. And I gave Esau the hill country of Seir as his inheritance. But Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt.

[5]“‘And I sent Moses and Aaron and I struck Egypt as I did in its midst. And afterward I brought you out. [6]And I brought your fathers out from Egypt and they entered the sea. And the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen to the Red Sea. [7]They cried out to Yahweh and he placed darkness between you and the Egyptians, and he brought the sea upon them and it covered them. And your eyes saw what I did to the Egyptians. And you dwelled in the wilderness for many days.

[8]“‘And I brought you to the land of the Amorites who dwelled across the Jordan. And they fought against you. And I gave them into your hand and you dispossessed their land. And I destroyed them from before you. [9]And Balak son of Zippor of Moab rose up and fought against Israel. And he sent and called Balaam son of Beor to curse you. [10]But I was not willing to listen to Balaam. And he blessed you. Thus I rescued you from his hand.

[11]And you crossed the Jordan and you entered Jericho. And the lords of Jericho, the Amorites, Perizzites, Canaanites, Hittites, Girgashites, Hivites, and Jebusites, fought against you. [12]And I sent terror before you. And you drove out from before you the two kings of the Amorites. It was not with your sword or with your bow. [13]And I gave you the land for which you did not labor and cities that you did not build. And you dwelled in them. You are eating vineyards and olive trees that you did not plant.’

[14]“Now fear Yahweh and serve him in integrity and in truth. Remove the gods that your fathers served across the River and in Egypt. Serve Yahweh. [15]If it is evil in your eyes to serve Yahweh, choose for yourselves this day whom you will serve, whether the gods that your fathers served across the River or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell. But, I and my house, we will serve Yahweh.”

[16]And the people answered and said, “Far be it from us to forsake Yahweh and to serve other gods. [17]For Yahweh our God is the one who brought us and our fathers up from the land of Egypt from the house of slavery, which he did before our eyes with these great signs. And he guarded over us in all the way in which we walked and among all the peoples in whose midst we passed. [18]And Yahweh drove out from before us all the peoples, the Amorites who dwelled in the land. Surely we will serve Yahweh because he is our God.”

[19]And Joshua said to the people, “You are not able to serve Yahweh. For he is a holy God; he is a jealous El. He will not forgive your offenses or your sins. [20]If you forsake Yahweh and serve foreign gods, he will turn and do evil to you. And he will consume you after having done you good.”

[21]And the people said to Joshua, “No, Yahweh we will serve.”

[22]And Joshua said to the people, “You are witnesses against yourselves that you chose for yourselves Yahweh to serve him.”

And they said, “We are witnesses.”

[23]“Now, turn away from the foreign gods that are among you and extend your hearts to Yahweh the God of Israel.”

[24]And the people said to Joshua, “Yahweh our God we will serve. And to his voice we will listen.”

[25]And Joshua made a covenant with the people on that day. And he established for him statute and judgment at Shechem. [26]And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the Torah of God. And he took a great stone and he set it up there beneath the terebinth tree that was in the sanctuary of Yahweh. [27]And Joshua said to all the people, “Indeed this stone will be for us a witness, for it has heard all the words of Yahweh that he spoke with us. And it will be among you a witness, lest you deny your God.”

24:28–33. DEATH AND BURIAL

24 [28]And Joshua sent each person to his inheritance.

[29]And after these words, Joshua the son of Nun the servant of Yahweh died. He was one hundred and ten years old. [30]And they buried him in the territory of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash. [31]Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua and all the days of the elders whose days extended beyond Joshua, but who knew the work that Yahweh did for Israel.

[32]The bones of Joseph that the Israelites brought up from Egypt were buried in Shechem in the section of the field that Jacob bought from the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem for one hundred Qesitah. They belonged to the sons of Joseph as an inheritance.

[33]And Eleazar the son of Aaron died. And they buried him in Gibeah of Phinehas his son, which was given to him in the hill country of Ephraim.

Notes

The MT and the LXX contain a series of contrasts in Josh 24. The two versions summarize salvation history (24:2–13) with a different literary genre and with distinct content. Each begins the review of history in the form of the prophetic messenger speech to recount the time of the ancestors: “And Joshua/Iesous said to all the people: ‘Thus said Yahweh/the Lord, the God of Israel, “I took . . . I led . . . I multiplied,”’” and so forth (24:2–3). But the content is not the same. Both idealize the ancestor Abraham as a traveler (24:3), but the scope of his journeying is different. The MT confines the journey to the land of Canaan: “I led him (Abraham) through all the land of Canaan.” The absence of Canaan in the LXX allows for a more expansive reading, perhaps to encompass the geographical dispersion of the diaspora Jews.

The MT and the LXX diverge in genre beginning with the recounting of the exodus (24:4–7) and continuing through the threat of Moab (24:8–10) and the conquest of the land (24:11–13). The MT continues with the form of the prophetic messenger speech, with Joshua recounting the past events by employing first-person references to the Deity, “I (Yahweh) sent . . . struck . . . brought out.” In the LXX, however, the speech of Joshua changes to that of an historian, who reviews the past as historical narrative employing third-person references to the Deity, “The Lord struck . . . brought out.” The change in genre may reflect the view of prophecy in the late postexilic period, in which the writing of history was a prophetic activity, evident in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 29:29; 2 Chr 9:29, 12:15, 20:34, 33:19) and stated directly by Josephus: “[T]he prophets alone had this privilege [i.e., writing history], obtaining their knowledge of the most remote and ancient history through the inspiration that they owed to God, and committing to writing an account of the events of their own time just as they occurred" (*Contra Apionem* 1.37). The content of the MT and the LXX is also different. In the recounting of the exodus, the MT refers to Moses and Aaron (24:5; see also Mic 6:4) and to the bringing out of the fathers (24:6), likely alluding to 1 Sam 12 (Römer, 2006: 536; Mäkipelto, 2018: 72–73); the LXX, by contrast, lacks the motifs from the MT while recounting the exodus (24:4–7), with motifs from Deut 26:5 in describing Israel as "a great nation, many and strong" (Auld, 1980: 58).

The MT and the LXX provide different endings to the book of Joshua. The MT concludes the book with the notice of three burials: Joshua (24:29–31), the bones of Joseph (24:32), and Eleazar (24:33). The closing portrait concentrates on the second generation of Israelites to leave Egypt, who are evaluated in a positive manner: "Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua" (24:31). The LXX concludes the book of Joshua with the notice of four burials: Joshua (24:30–31), the bones of Joseph (24:32), Eleazar (24:33), and Phinehas (24:33). The LXX also includes the flint knives used for circumcision as relics in the burial of Joshua (LXX 24:31a; see also 5:4–5, 21:42a–d), the negative evaluation of the third generation of the Israelites (LXX 24:33b; see also Judg 2:6–10), and the oppression of Israel by Eglon (LXX 24:33b; see also Judg 3:12), all of which are absent in the MT.

24:1 *Shechem.* The LXX locates the speech at Shiloh in vv. 1 and 25. Most interpreters identify Shechem in the MT as the primary reading (e.g., Nielsen, 1955: 86–87; Becker, 2006: 143; Koopmans, 1990: 259–61; Auld, 1979b: 14), with the LXX reference to Shiloh a later change (e.g., Schley, 1989: 225; Tov, 1992: 161). Barthélemy (1982: 42) suggested the change of location in the LXX represents an anti-Samaritan revision (see also Wildenboer, 2016: 492–93). Knauf (2008: 195) argued just the reverse, that Shiloh is the original reading and that its central geographical location is intended to be inclusive of Samaritans and Judeans (see also the earlier reading of Möhlenbrink, 1938: 250–54). I follow the majority reading that Shechem is the original location, linking the conclusion of the book to the central cultic site of Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35). The terebinth tree at Shechem in 24:26 supports this conclusion; this tree is also associated with Shechem in Abram's initial entrance in the land (Gen 12:6), Jacob's burying of foreign gods (Gen 35:4), and Abimelech's anointing as king (Judg 9:6). For discussion of Shechem, see the "Notes" to 17:7 and the "Comments" to 24:1.

And he called to the elders of Israel, its heads, its judges, and its scribes. The LXX lacks a reference to "Israel" in referencing the "elders," and it makes no mention of the "heads." The more limited list in the LXX, without reference to the "heads," also appears in MT 8:33/LXX 9:2d, 23:2. The "heads" is a redaction-critical addition to the group of leaders (see the "Comments" to Josh 14). The absence of the "heads" in the LXX raises the question of the relationship between textual and literary criticism. Mäkipelto (2020: 64, 66) judged the larger list of leaders in MT 24:1 to be a secondary development through harmonization with 23:2. Variations between the MT and the LXX, however, complicate the evaluation (see Anbar, 1992: 30–31). The LXX, for example, also changes the order of the leaders—elders, scribes, and judges—while translating "elders" *presbyterous*, as compared to *gerousian* in 23:2 (see Auld, 2008: 221).

before God. The Hebrew *hāʾĕlōhîm* includes the definite article, which could be translated literally, "the God." The definite article may be intended to provide contrast to the "gods" (*ʾĕlōhîm*) worshiped by the ancestors (24:2). The LXX underscores the contrast, translating *tou theou*, "the God," in 24:1 and *theois*, "gods," in 24:2.

24:2 *Thus said Yahweh the God of Israel.* The introduction is in the form of the prophetic messenger formula. It appears also in the divine address to Joshua in 7:13 (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 232).

Across the River. The Hebrew *bĕʿēber hannāhār* has two meanings in the Hebrew Bible. (1) Across the River may designate a specific region of the ancient Near East on the west side of the Euphrates River, known as the territory of Abar Naharah in Aramaic and Eber Hanahar in Hebrew. I. Eph'al (1988: 139–40) clarified that this province is firmly rooted in the geopolitical history of the ancient Near East as early as the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Esarhaddon describes an invasion into the territory Ebir Nari ("across the river"), the Akkadian equivalent of the Aramaic Abar Naharah. The geographical reference represents the perspective of the Assyrians (Rainey, 1969). The nations "across the river" are those on the west side of the Euphrates. Esarhaddon lists twenty-two regions and kings in Ebir Nari from Tyre, in the north, to Gaza, in the south, as well as Cyprus (*ANET* 291). The province of Abar Naharah is a central geographical reference in Ezra-Nehemiah (e.g., Ezra 4:10, 11, 16, 17, 20; 5:3, 6; 6:13–15; 7:25–26; 8:35–36; Neh 2:7, 3:7), where it also designates the geopolitical region of the Persian Empire, corresponding to the Neo-Assyrian province of Eber Nari. The most significant reference to this region outside of Ezra-Nehemiah is 1 Kgs 4:24 (Eng. 5:4), which idealizes the kingdom of Solomon as including the entire region of Abar Naharah. The description of the land in Josh 1:4 does not employ this term, but the territory may correspond to the Across the River province (see the "Comments" to 1:4). The geographical scope of the review of history, from the Euphrates River to the Red Sea in Egypt, reflects the same territory (see the "Comments" to 24:1–13).

(2) Across the River may also designate the distant lands east of the Euphrates River, where humans worship many gods. This is the meaning in Josh 24, when Joshua encourages the Israelites to "put away the gods that your fathers served across the River" (24:14). The point of view is the opposite from the Across the River province, since the perspective is from Palestine in the west looking east (24:2, 3, 14), with the Euphrates River designating the border (e.g., Gen 15:15; Deut 1:7, 11:24). In this case, the phrase "across the River" indicates foreign and strange lands from the distant past. J. Van Seters (1972b; 1975: 33–34) noted that two territories result from this usage: the land east of the Euphrates known as the Aram Naharaim and the land west of the Euphrates described as the land of Amorites and Hittites. Similar texts to Josh 24 include 2 Sam 10:16 = 1 Chr 19:16, 1 Kgs 14:15, and Isa 7:20. In Josh 24, the phrase "across the River" may designate territory beyond the reach of the Torah of Moses where polytheism still dominates (see the "Comments").

from time immemorial. The Hebrew *mēʿôlām* is translated in the LXX *ap archēs*, "from the beginning," "from the origin," or "from the first." The phrase designates a distinct and distant era, as in the description of the pre-flood Nephilim as "heroes from of old" (Gen 6:4).

24:3 *I led him through all the land of Canaan.* The Hebrew *bĕkōl-ʾereṣ kĕnāʿan* focuses on the limited geographical area of Canaan. The inclusion of Canaan may be a later addition, according to Butler (2014b: 293). But Moatti-Fine (1996: 232) noted it is frequent in Joshua, suggesting the LXX may be a shortened version. She added that the reference to land (*gē*) without a determinative is rare, giving the expression an ambiguous meaning, perhaps to state the broad protection of Yahweh over Abraham from Egypt to Mesopotamia. In this case, the LXX is idealizing Abraham as a traveler on the model of the heroic Greek world travelers, as is illustrated, for example, by Hecataeus of Miletus in *Periodos ges.*

24:4 *And I gave Esau the hill country of Seir as his inheritance.* The statement reflects Esau's settlement in Seir (Gen 36:8), and it corresponds with the statement in Deut 2:5 that Esau's possession of Seir was a divine gift. The positive evaluation of Edom has puzzled interpreters, especially if the composition is exilic or postexilic, because of the widespread condemnation of Edom in the exilic and postexilic southern prophetic literature (e.g., Jer 49; Ezek 25:12–14; 35; Isa 34, 63; Obad 10; Mal 1:2–5). Researchers conclude that the hostility may have been over Edom's role in the destruction of Jerusalem or the Edomite incursion into the western side of the Jordan, in which the formation of the province of Idumea impinged on the southern territory of Judea (see the review of research in Assis, 2006: 74–90). In view of this, some interpret the reference to Esau or his inheritance of land as a later gloss (e.g., Möhlenbrink, 1938: 251; Steuernagel, 1923: 242–43; Noth, 1971b: 135); others date the text early to account for the positive portrayal of the Edomites (e.g., McCarthy, 1978: 235; Noort, 1998b: 99; Butler, 2014a: 318). Anbar (1992: 123–24) dates the positive reference to Esau to the postexilic period, but he interprets the emphasis on the Transjordan to be a critique of the western incursion of the Edomites into the land of the Judeans; it is meant to underscore that the divine inheritance to Esau is confined to the Transjordan. But there is no critique of the Edomites in the book of Joshua, not even in their possession of land west of the Jordan River, as is evident in the positive portrayal of Caleb, in which the author specifically identifies him as an Edomite (= Kenizzite). The author states that Caleb possesses the western territory surrounding Hebron as the fulfillment of the divine promise of land (see the "Comments" to Josh 14, 15). The divine gift of land to Esau in the Transjordan (24:4) and to Caleb in Hebron (14:6–15, 15:13–19) represents the Samarian author's view of Idumea as a divinely ordained possession of the Edomites, even though it impinges on the southern province of Yehud. For discussion of Seir, see the "Notes" to 11:17.

24:4b *But Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt.* The LXX adds *kai egenonto ekei eis ethnos mega kai polu kai krataion,* "and they became there a great nation, many and strong." The plus in the LXX is related to Deut 26:5b, *wayhî-šām lĕgôy gādôl ʿāṣûm wārāb,* "and he became there a nation, strong and many." Tov (1981: 58) noted that the inverted order in the phrase "many and strong" is not uncommon.

24:5–7 *And I sent Moses . . . for many days.* The transition from the ancestors (24:2–4b) to the exodus (24:5–7) is signaled by the notice that Jacob journeyed to Egypt (24:4b). The MT and the LXX contain a series of contrasts in the account of the exodus (Table 11).

The MT and the LXX diverge in genre and in content. The MT continues the first-person divine speech from vv. 2–4a, in which the recounting of salvation history is in the form of a prophetic messenger speech. The LXX shifts to historical narrative to recount the story of the exodus. The versions also differ in content. The MT anchors the story of the exodus in Moses and Aaron: "And I sent Moses and Aaron" (v. 5a). The LXX lacks the reference, anchoring the story instead in the Egyptian oppression: "And the Egyptians afflicted them" (v. 5b). Both versions, however, depart from their style in referencing the cry of Israel from Exod 14:10. In the MT, the verbs change from first to third person, clarifying that it was the people's cry that prompted the divine rescue: "They cried out to Yahweh." In the LXX, the verbs change in the other direction, from third-person historical narrative to first-person speech to underscore that lament prompted divine action: "And we cried to the Lord." In both cases, it is the cry that prompts divine action. The contrasting genres of prophetic discourse and historical narrative continue in the account of Balaam (see below at 24:9–10). Both the MT and the LXX are also inconsistent in maintaining their respective temporal horizons, emphasizing the parenetic intent of both versions, whether prophetic discourse or historical narrative. The texts shift between a past account of the ancestors and a more contemporary experience of the Israelites who are present with Joshua. The MT shifts between the salvation of the ancestors (v. 5a, "I sent Moses"; v. 6, "I brought your fathers"; v. 7a, "they cried out") and a more direct story that includes the tribes gathered at Shechem (v. 5b, "I brought you out"; v. 7b, "your eyes saw"). The LXX shifts between a past story about the ancestors (v. 5, "he brought them out"; and v. 6, "the Egyptians pursued after your fathers") and the experience of those gathered with Joshua at Shiloh (v. 6a, "you went"; v. 7a, "between us and the Egyptians"; v. 7b, "your eyes"). In both the MT and the LXX, the change from past to present is intended to relate the past experience of salvation to the present community.

Table 11. MT and LXX versions of Josh 24:5–7

MT	*LXX*
[5]And I sent Moses and Aaron and I struck Egypt as I did in its midst. And afterward I brought you out.	[5]And the Egyptians afflicted them. And the Lord struck the Egyptians in what he did to them. And after this he brought them out of Egypt.
[6]And I brought your fathers out from Egypt and they entered the sea. And the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen to the Red Sea.	[6]And you went to the Red Sea and the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and on horses to the Red Sea.
[7]They cried out to Yahweh and he placed darkness between you and the Egyptians, and he brought the sea upon them and it covered them.	[7]And we cried to the Lord and he gave a cloud and darkness between us and the Egyptians. And he brought the sea on them and he covered them.
And your eyes saw what I did to the Egyptians. And you dwelled in the wilderness for many days.	And your eyes saw what the Lord did in the land of Egypt. And you were in the desert many days.

24:5 *And I sent Moses and Aaron.* Absent in the LXX. The parallel to the MT appears in Mic 6:4, perhaps as the source (so Nelson, 1998: 264). Koopmans (1990: 247) noted the additional parallel to Ps 105; Römer (2006: 536) adds 1 Sam 12:8. Nielsen (1955: 88) interprets the reference to Moses and Aaron as a late addition to the MT.

Mäkipelto (2018: 73–74) also judges the MT secondary to the LXX. The limited references to Aaron in the late post-Priestly additions to the book of Joshua reinforce the secondary character of 24:5 (see the list of Levitical cities, 21:4, 10, 13, 19; and the burial notice of Eleazar, 24:33). The lingering literary problem, however, is that the absence of the reference to Moses and Aaron creates a gap in the MT that is difficult to explain (see also Mäkipelto, 2018: 77).

as I did in its midst. The Hebrew is difficult. Soggin (1972: 224) suggested the hearer may know the details; he translates, "I plagued them like this and like that." The Greek provides little clarification. In the LXXB, the reference to the Deity is in the third person, "the Lord struck," followed by the clause *en hois epoiēsen autois,* "in what he did to them" (see Auld, 2008: 222); the LXXA includes *en sēmeiois,* "in signs."

24:5b–6a *And afterward I brought you out. And I brought your fathers out from Egypt.* The repetition in the MT is absent in the LXX. H. N. Rösel (2011: 367) judges the LXX as simplifying the redundancy in the MT, although the LXXA and LXXB diverge in how the two verses are related (see Soggin, 1972: 224; Boling and Wright, 1982: 530; Anbar, 1992: 33–37; Nelson, 1997: 264). Römer (2006: 536) interprets the reference to the "fathers" in the second line as a redaction-critical addition; it does not appear in the LXX (see "Composition").

24:6 *Red Sea.* The translation follows the LXX, *eis tēn thalassan tēn eruthran,* "to the Red Sea." The Hebrew, *yam-sûp,* is more ambiguous. The word *sûp* may be translated "reeds" or "rushes," perhaps from the Egyptian *twf(y),* meaning "reed" or "papyrus" (Ward, 1974: 339–49. N. Snaith (1965, 395–98) argued for a more mythological background to the term as designating the southern sea that forms the boundary of the land. B. Batto (1983) followed Snaith, translating "Sea of Extinction." This translation places the Hebrew *yam-sûp* within the context of "ocean" in ancient Near Eastern and Greek literature, which signifies the most extreme boundary of civilization or the edge of the world. Anbar (1992: 37) argued that *yam-sûp* does not fit the context and may be a gloss for *hayyāssâ,* "the sea," replaced in the LXXB with the Greek *tēn thalassan tēn eruthran.*

24:7 *They cried out to Yahweh.* The MT may reflect the continuing influence of 1 Sam 12 or Exod 14:10, where the motif repeats in the third-person plural (e.g., Exod 14:10, "[the Israelites] cried out"; 1 Sam 12:8 [ancestors], v. 10 [they]). The LXX states, "we cried to the Lord," corresponding to the first-person plural reference in Deut 26:7, "we cried to Yahweh." Mäkipelto (2018: 83–84) provides a review of the text-critical solutions.

darkness. The Hebrew *mă'ăpēl* is a *hapax legomenon.* The *m* may be the result of dittography, securing the translation "darkness" from the Hebrew *'pl* (Nelson, 1997: 264). The LXX translates *nephelēn kai grophon,* "cloud and darkness," perhaps reflecting the traditional account in Exod 14:20. But in this case, Koopmans (1990: 102) notes that the expected Greek translation from Exod 14:20 would be *skotos kai gnophos;* he follows Tov (1981: 83) in suggesting an alternative whereby the LXX occasionally uses two words to clarify one in the MT.

24:8 *I brought.* Translating the Hiphil following the Qere of the MT. Compare the LXX, which translates in the third person, "he brought." The third-person reference to the Deity continues throughout v. 8 in the LXX, which also includes the additional clause "and they fought against you."

land of the Amorites. The Amorites change in meaning over time (Kreuzer, 1989: 208–12). The identity of the Amorites also ranges widely in the book of Joshua (see the "Notes" to 2:10). In 24:8–13, the eastern Amorites (24:8) are likely the two kings Sihon and Og (see 12:2; 13:10, 21), although they are not identified as such. The western Amorites (24:11b) are part of the list of indigenous nations (24:11b; see 3:10, 9:1, 11:3, 12:8). The further reference to the "two Amorite kings" in the MT (24:12) is likely a textual corruption; the LXX numbers the kings as twelve (see the "Notes" to 24:12). The reference may originally have been directed to the western Amorite kings in general (5:1, 7:7) or to the coalition of five Amorite kings (10:5, 6, 12). In spite of the text-critical problems, the emphasis in 24:8–13 that the tribes "crossed the Jordan" (24:11a) indicates that the Amorite kings in 24:12 are located on the western side of the river.

And I destroyed them. The LXX writes "you (Israel) destroyed them."

24:9 *Balak son of Zippor.* The LXX lacks "son of Beor." See the "Notes" to 13:22.

and (he) fought against Israel. Van der Meer (2015: 90) accentuates the middle voice of the Greek, *paretaxato tōi israēl,* "and (he) set himself against Israel," stating that it is an attempt on the part of the translator "to accommodate the fact that Numbers 22–24 does not report a direct confrontation between Israel and Balak."

24:10 *But I was not willing to listen to Balaam. And he blessed you. Thus I rescued you from his hand.* In the MT, Balaam is clairvoyant. He is able to address Yahweh, but Yahweh refuses to listen to his intercession. As a consequence, Balaam blesses the Israelites rather than cursing them. The MT ends by underscoring the divine role in Israel's rescue through the action of Balaam. In the LXX, divination by Balaam is absent, perhaps for theological reasons (Butler, 2014b: 319–20) or to conform with the genre of historical narrative. The result is that the Deity becomes the subject of all action: "And the Lord your God did not wish to destroy you and he blessed you and rescued you from their hands." The LXX includes the further plus, "And he gave them over to you." Boling and Wright (1982: 531) take the LXX to have read "Balaam" (*lĕbal'ām*) mistakenly as "to destroy" (*bl'*). Greenspoon (1983: 157) rightly noted that the LXX goes beyond a mistaken reading.

24:11 *the lords of Jericho.* The Hebrew *ba'ălê-yĕrîḥô* is translated in the LXX *hoi katoikountes ierichō,* "the inhabitants of Iericho." For discussion of Jericho, see the "Notes" to 2:1.

Amorites, Perizzites, Canaanites, Hittites, Girgashites, Hivites, and Jebusites. The syntax is abrupt; Römer (2006: 537) interprets the list of indigenous nations as an addition to clarify the identity of the "lords of Jericho." The LXX includes a different order in listing the seven indigenous nations: "Amorrite, Chananite, Pherizite, Heuite, Iebousite, Chettite, Gergesite." For discussion of the Hittites, see the "Notes" to 1:4; the Amorites, see the "Notes" to 2:10; and the Perizzites, Canaanites, Girgashites, Hivites, and Jebusites, see the "Notes" to 3:10.

LXX 24:11 *and the Lord gave them over to you.* Absent in the MT. The plus repeats a similar plus from 24:10b, "And he gave them over to you."

24:12 *terror.* The Hebrew *haṣṣir'â* may be translated as both "terror" and "hornet" (*HALOT* 1056). The LXX *tēn sphēkian* means "wasp, hornet."

the two kings of the Amorites. The MT recalls the Amorite kings, Sihon and Og, who were defeated on the east side of the Jordan River. This reference is out of chronological order in the review of the past, since the summary has already recounted the Israelite crossing of the Jordan River. Fritz (1994: 234) deletes the phrase as a gloss (see also Noth, 1971b: 135), but the numerical reference in the LXX may be an attempt to correct the MT (Steuernagel, 1923: 243). Koopmans (1990: 255–56) favors the MT reading, suggesting that chronology plays no role in the text. The LXX creates a new problem of interpretation, however, writing *dōdeka basileis tōn amorraiōn,* "the twelve kings of the Amorites." Researchers offer a range of interpretations for the LXX, including a general reference to conquered kings from Josh 11 or 12 (Nelson, 1997: 264) or a reference to the Assyrian annals (*ANET* 279–81), in which twelve kings represented the region of Syria and Palestine (so Soggin, 1972: 235). D. Edelman (1991) emended the Hebrew *šny* ("two") to *nśʾym,* translating "the kings of the Amorites are swept away." No interpretation is thoroughly satisfying. See also the "Notes" to 24:8.

It was not with your sword or with your bow. The MT switches to the singular ("your [singular] sword" and "your [singular] bow") in the midst of a speech that addresses all Israel in the plural ("I sent terror before you [plural]"). The LXX follows the MT. Many note the inner-biblical reference to Jacob's blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh and his giving a double portion of inheritance to Joseph in order to accommodate his two sons (Gen 48:17–22). Jacob describes the origin of the double inheritance as "the portion that I took from the hand of the Amorites with my sword and with my bow" (Gen 48:22b). The singular references in the prophetic messenger speech of Joshua (24:12b) underscore that the double portion of inheritance to Joseph originated with the Deity and not with Jacob (see the "Comments").

24:13 *And I gave.* The MT continues the first-person divine discourse; the LXX continues third-person historical narrative, "and he gave you."

you did not labor. The Hebrew *lōʾ-yāgʿtā* shifts unexpectedly to the singular in a context where all second-person references are plural. The Greek renders the phrase in the plural, *ouk ekopiasate,* "you (plural) did not labor."

24:14 *Remove the gods.* The LXX writes *tous theous tous allotrious,* "the foreign/strange gods." Koopmans (1990: 256–57) interprets the LXX as a stylistic variation. Butler (2014b: 295) detects a rhetorical purpose to make the demand more personal. Mäkipelto (2018: 102) interprets the MT as a revision to undermine the reference to Israelite polytheism.

24:15 *But, I and my house, we will serve Yahweh.* The LXX adds "because he is holy."

24:16 *to serve other gods.* The LXX translates *theois heterois,* "other gods." Compare the LXX of v. 14, "foreign gods."

24:17 *For Yahweh our God is the one who.* The Hebrew *kî yhwh ʾĕlōhênû hûʾ* functions as the subject of the sentence. The LXX translates as an independent sentence, *kurios ho theos hēmōn, autos theos,* "The Lord our God, he is the God," turning the Greek into a "monotheistic declaration," according to Boling and Wright (1982: 531). The Greek may represent a misunderstanding of the Hebrew (Koopmans, 1990: 257), or it may reflect a distinct *Vorlage* (Mäkipelto, 2018: 104).

from the house of slavery, which he did before our eyes with these great signs. Absent in the LXX. Koopmans (1990: 248) identifies two separate pluses in the MT, the first is *mibêt ʿăbādîm,* "from the house of slavery," and the second is *waʾăšer ʿāśâ lĕʿênênû ʾet-hāʾōtôt haggĕdōlôt,* "which he did before our eyes with these great signs." He notes the possible influence of Mic 6:4 or Deuteronomy (e.g., 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6, 11).

24:19 *he is a jealous El.* The Hebrew *ʾēl-qannôʾ hûʾ* recalls the Decalogue, where the quality of Yahweh as a "jealous El" is first introduced (Exod 20:5). In the Decalogue, however, the participle *ʾēl qannāʾ* is used, rather than the adjective *ʾēl-qannôʾ,* as in Josh 24:19. The LXX employs the participle *zēlōsas,* without the noun "jealous." The meaning is likely the same.

24:20 *foreign gods.* The Hebrew *ĕlōhê nēkārʾ* could also be translated "gods of a foreigner." The LXX translates *theois heterois,* "other gods." Upon comparison to Judg 10:13, Anbar (1992: 132) favored the LXX as the original form, but he also noted that the choice of terms throughout Josh 24 does not follow a systematic pattern: "foreign gods" (MT 24:20, 23; LXX 24:14, 23), "other gods" (MT 24:2, 16; LXX 24:2, 16, 20), and "gods" (MT 24:14).

24:21 *No, Yahweh we will serve.* The Hebrew *lōʾ kî ʾet-yhwh naʿăbōd* repeats the syntax of the statement by the prince of the army of Yahweh at the outset of holy war in 5:14, *lōʾ kî ʾănî śar-ṣĕbāʾ-yhwh,* "No, for I am the prince of the host of Yahweh." Both texts underscore allegiance to Yahweh. In 5:14, the LXX employs distinct syntax from the MT, *egō archistratēgos dunameōs kuriou,* "I am the commander of the power of the Lord"; the Greek of 24:21, *ouchi alla kuriō latreusomen,* "No, but the Lord we will worship," follows the Hebrew.

24:22 *And they said, "We are witnesses."* Absent in the LXX. The sentence disrupts the speech of Joshua and is likely an addition to the MT (see "Composition").

24:24 *Yahweh our God we will serve.* The LXX lacks "our God."

24:25 *statute and judgment.* The expression appears infrequently in late literature in the Hebrew Bible, with different meanings (see the more common plural, "statutes and judgments," in Lev 26:46; Deut 4:1, 5, 8, 14, 45; 5:1; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16). Examples of the singular include the redactional addition to the story of poisoned water (Exod 15:25); a specific law of inheritance (Num 27:11); the collection of laws revealed at Moab (Num 35:29); the specific law of booty (1 Sam 30:25); and even the study of the Torah (Ezra 7:10). Context in each case determines the meaning. The interpretation of the covenant as a "statute and judgment" in Josh 24:25b must also arise from the literary context, in which the Israelites are pledging allegiance to Yahweh as the God of Israel. See the "Comments."

Shechem. The LXX places the ceremony at Shiloh and adds a reference to a tent sanctuary, likely the Tent of Meeting, *tēs skēnēs tou theou israēl,* "the tent of the God of Israel."

24:26 *Joshua.* Absent in the LXX.

the book of the Torah of God. The Hebrew *bēsēper tôrat ʾĕlōhîm* appears for the first time (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 237). The translation "Torah" rather than the more general "law" is intended to reflect a specific composition signified by the Hebrew *sēper,* "book/scroll." The other appearance of the phrase "the book of the Torah of God" (Neh 8:18; see also 18:7) reinforces the more specific translation, since this text too describes the reading of a scroll and its interpretation. The LXX translates *kai egrapsen ta hrēmata tauta eis biblion, nomon tou theou,* "and he wrote these words in the book, law of God." The phrase "law of God" in apposition most likely refers to "book" (*biblion*), also indicating a specific document; compare Auld (2008: 226), who relates the apposition to the more distant "words." See the "Comments" for further interpretation.

terebinth tree. The Hebrew *hāʾēlleh* could be translated "oak" or "terebinth." The translation "terebinth" underscores the cultic role of the tree. The LXX translates *terebinthos.* Moatti-Fine (1996: 237) emphasized a series of problems in the LXX introduced by the location of the terebinth tree at Shiloh, rather than Shechem. It severs the conclusion of the book of Joshua from the appearance of God to Abraham at Shechem (Gen 12:6) and from the account of Jacob burying his foreign gods under the terebinth tree at Shechem (Gen 35:2–4).

in the sanctuary of Yahweh. The Hebrew *miqdaš* is the general designation for a sanctuary. This is the only reference to a "sanctuary" in the book of Joshua. The LXX lacks the reference, stating *apenanti kuriou,* "before the Lord," perhaps to eliminate the association of a sanctuary at Shechem. Compare J. Pakkala (2013: 198), who argued that the LXX indicates a statue or a physical representation of the Deity subsequently modified in the MT (see also Wildenboer, 2016: 494–95). Butler (2014a: 297) suggested the reason for the Greek translation may be to avoid placing the tree in the sanctuary.

24:27 *And it will be among you a witness, lest you deny your God.* The MT anchors the statement in the present time. The LXX departs from the MT; it lacks the reference "your God" and refers instead to Joshua's God, *kurioi toi theoi mou,* "to the Lord, my God." The LXX also includes *ep eschatōn tōn hermerōn,* "at the end of days," which likely indicates an eschatological judgment rather than the focus on the present time in the MT (M. Rösel, 2018 152–53). The future more vivid condition reinforces the eschatological intent of the statement.

24:28 *And Joshua sent each person to his inheritance.* The order of events is different in the LXX and in Judg 2:6–7.

24:29 *And after these words, Joshua the son of Nun the servant of Yahweh died.* The reference to the "words" is likely tied to the writing of the "words" in the "book of the Torah of God" (24:26). In the LXX, the temporal clause *kai egeneto met ekeina,* "and it happened after these things" (LXX 24:30), lacks the reference to "words." The parallel statement in Judg 2:8 lacks the entire temporal clause that provides transition in both the LXX (24:30) and the MT (24:29).

24:30 *Timnath-serah.* See the "Notes" to 15:10.

Mount Gaash. The Hebrew *har-gāʿaš* derives from the root *gʿšš,* meaning "bubble, belch." The Greek translates *gaas,* "Gaas" (LXXA), and *galaad,* "Gilead" (LXXB). The translation of the LXXB would place the location on the eastern side of the Jordan River, even though the text is explicit in stating that the location was in the hill country of Ephraim on the western side of the Jordan River. The parallel statement in Judg 2:9 also locates the burial of Joshua at Mount Gaash, which the LXX translates *gaas,* "Gaas." Second Samuel 23:30 and 1 Chr 11:32 identify the person Hiddai/Hurai with the Wadi Gaash. The site remains unidentified.

LXX 24:31a *There they placed with him in the tomb in which they buried him, the swords of stone with which he circumcised the sons of Israel at Galgala, when he led them out of Egypt as the Lord commanded them. And there they are until this day.* Absent in the MT. The LXX includes the "swords of stone" used in circumcision. The reference completes a motif developed throughout the LXX version of the book of Joshua, linking the burial of Joshua with the LXX version of the story of circumcision (5:2–9) and the LXX addition to the Levitical cities (21:42a–d). The knives are intended to idealize Joshua in the LXX (Greenspoon, 2005: 240); they signify his first ritual action in the land of Canaan and his acquisition of the city Timnath-serah; and they become a permanent relic when placed in his tomb at Mount Gaas. Rofé (1982: 24–25) argued that the motif of the knives in the LXX of 24:31a was the more original version of the ending of Joshua and that their removal in the MT was an instance of late nomistic editing, when the religious relics became offensive to the editors of the MT. A distinct *Vorlage* to the LXX is possible, especially if the allusion in the Damascus Document (V:1–5) represents a literary parallel to the LXX version of Joshua (see also M. Rösel, 2018: 147–48). Den Hertog (1996: 601–6) reversed the literary relationship, arguing that the knives represent the concerns of the translator regarding the status of uncircumcised Jews in Alexandria, which prompted the emphasis on purification in the LXX version of the episode of circumcision. The LXX account of circumcision (5:2–9) as an act of purification (5:3) that assimilates Alexandrian Jews into Egyptian culture (i.e., "removes the disgrace of Egypt," 5:9) adds support to the reading of den Hertog (see the "Comments" to 5:2–12).

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24:31 *Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua and all the days of the elders whose days extended beyond Joshua, and who knew the work that Yahweh did for Israel.* In the MT, the closing evaluation of the second generation of the Israelites (24:31) follows the death and burial of Joshua (24:29–30). The evaluation is positive; the closing portrait of the people is that they were faithful. The LXX and Judges place the positive evaluation of the second generation (LXX Josh 34:29, Judg 2:7) before the notice of Joshua's death and burial (LXX Josh 24:30, Judg 2:8–9). The positive statement, therefore, is no longer the overall evaluation of the Israelites at the end of the book of Joshua; it functions, rather, as a transition to the third generation, whose disobedience becomes the point of focus in Judges. The LXX and Judges include a negative evaluation of the third generation of the Israelites (LXX Josh 24:33b, Judg 2:10–11), all of which is absent in the MT.

24:32 *Shechem.* See the "Notes" to 17:7.

the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem. The reference is to Jacob's purchase of land (Gen 33:19). The LXX writes "the Amorrites who dwelled in Sikima."

Qesitah. The Hebrew *qĕśîṭâ* derives from the root meaning "to divide, measure," likely designating an ancient weight used as money; it appears one other time in the Hebrew Bible in Job 42:11. The LXX translates *amnadōn ekaton,* "one hundred ewe-lambs." If the term is a reference to "coins," Römer (2017a: 206) concluded that the time of composition is later than the fifth century BCE.

They belonged to. The antecedent to the plural verb *wayyihyû* must be the "bones of Joseph" (Barthélemy, 1982: 71–72). Butler (2014a: 336) prefers "the section of the field," but the singular, *bĕḥelqat haśśādeh,* does not correspond to the plural verb. H. N. Rösel (2011: 378) questioned the Hebrew on the basis of its content, stating "bones of certain personalities or holy men might be the object of veneration, but they cannot become an inheritance." The LXX provides a different reading, employing the third-person singular *edōken,* "he gave." Nelson (1997: 278) interprets the LXX as an intentional revision: "The idea that Joseph's bones (this is the site of pilgrimages to venerate his tomb) could be considered as an inheritance for the Joseph tribes was offensive to later orthodoxy."

24:33 *And Eleazar the son of Aaron died.* The LXX adds a temporal clause: "And it happened after this." It also identifies Aaron as the "high priest."

Gibeah of Phinehas. See the "Notes" to 15:57.

LXX 24:33a *On that day the sons of Israel took the ark of God and carried it around among themselves. And Phinees was priest after his father Eleazar until he died and was* *buried at Gabaath, which belonged to him.* The LXX extends the conclusion of the MT one generation by recording the death of Phinehas. See the discussion above.

LXX 24:33b *The sons of Israel departed each to his own place and to his own city. And the sons of Israel worshiped Ashtaroth and the gods of the nations round about them.* The second departure (LXX 24:33b) leads to the negative evaluation of the Israelites as unfaithful (see also Judg 2:11). Rofé (1982: 28–29) interprets the motif of foreign worship (LXX 24:33b) as an early connection between Joshua and Judges. Moatti-Fine (1996: 239) rightly notes that the MT provides a more appropriate ending to the book of Joshua. It maintains the focus on the central character, Joshua, underscoring his role as successor of Moses; he is the one responsible for inscribing the law, acquiring the land, and fulfilling the mission.

LXX 24:33b *And the Lord gave them over to the hand of Eglom the king of Moab. And he ruled over them for eighteen years.* Absent in the MT. The reference to Eglon links the LXX conclusion of Joshua to Judg 3:12.

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Composition

COVENANT CEREMONY

The covenant ceremony at Shechem (24:1–27) has been a central text in the study of the composition of Joshua and of the Pentateuch throughout the modern period of interpretation. Source criticism established the literary relationship between Josh 24 and the Pentateuch through the identification of the E source. Tradition historians focused on the social and religious function of the setting of Shechem. Recent literary and redaction-critical studies clarified the late composition of the text (see Koopmans, 1990: 7–31; and Noort, 1998a: 59–91).

Northern Elohistic Source

Wellhausen (1889: 135–36) represents the source-critical paradigm for interpreting 24:1–27. He judged 24:1–27 to be a literary unity, with only minor additions (e.g., vv. 1b, 2, 11, 12a, 17b, 18b, 19, 26a). The identification of the Deity as Elohim and the exclusive nature of religion were among the motifs that allowed Wellhausen to identify the ceremony with the E source. The setting of Shechem reinforced the northern setting. The historical review outlined the content of the E source as including material from the ancestors in Genesis to the distribution of land in Joshua. The related themes indicated that the northern E source constituted a literary Hexateuch, extending from Genesis through Joshua. Source-critical research in the late nineteenth century tended to reinforce the research of Wellhausen; interpreters continued to attribute large portions of 24:1–27 to the northern E source. Research also focused more on the additions to the text. Kuenen (1886: 155–56), for example, expanded the influence of the Deuteronomic composition (D1) beyond the limited references noted by Wellhausen. He catalogued connections between Josh 24:1–27 (e.g., 24:1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 24) and Deuteronomy (e.g., 6:10, 11:7, 29:15, 31:18, 33:5–6) and also linked the covenant assembly (Josh 24) and the construction of the altar at Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 8:30–35; Deut 11:29–32, 27:1–26) within the D1 composition. Kuenen, like Wellhausen, continued to identify the original form of Josh 24:1–27 with the E source, in spite of the expanded role of Deuteronomic composition.

Source critics in the twentieth century introduced more complex reconstructions of the covenant ceremony that moved interpretation away from the present structure of Josh 24. E. Sellin (1917: 30–55), for example, argued that Gilgal was the original setting for all ritual actions in Joshua, which meant that Shechem in the covenant assembly (24:1–27) and Ebal/Gerizim in the cultic ritual at the altar (8:30–35) required explanation. According to Sellin (1917: 52–60), the shift in setting occurred in a two-stage development within the E source. In the original E source (E1), the cultic service at the altar (8:30–35) and the covenant ceremony (Josh 24) were one event at Gilgal—not the southern location near Jericho in the present form of the book of Joshua, but a different location near Shechem. The covenant ceremony included only a small portion of Josh 24, consisting of the covenant (24:23–25) and the stone as witness (24:26b, 27), which were originally part of one larger cultic event at the stone altar (8:30–34). The author of the second E source (E2) refashioned the original cultic ceremony into the separate events, detaching Shechem and Ebal/Gerizim from their original connection with Gilgal. Once Josh 24 was an independent ritual at Shechem, the E2 author filled out the covenant ceremony (24:23–25, 26b, 27) with the literary review of history (24:2–13) (see also Eissfeldt [1922, 1970] for a variation of Sellin that includes the sources L [an early Lay source], E, and J).

Northern Tribal Ceremony

Von Rad (1966b) introduced a new direction in the study of Josh 24. He disagreed with the complex literary reconstructions that emerged among source critics, which moved "further away from the final form of the text as we have it" (1966b: 1). He sought to counter the "disintegrating effect" with a tradition-historical approach to 24:1–27 as two ancient creeds: the historical credo (24:2–13) and the assembly of covenant renewal (24:14–27). The historical credo (2:2–13; also in Deut 6:20–24, 26:5b–9) contained the summary of salvation history from the Hexateuch, without the giving of law at Sinai; it celebrated the gift of the land during the tribal observance of the Feast of Weeks at Gilgal. The liturgy included the recounting of the ancestors (24:2–4), the exodus (24:5–7), the wilderness wandering (24:8–10), and the gift of the land (24:11–12). The assembly of covenant renewal (24:14–27; also in Exod 19–24 and Deuteronomy) reflected a different tribal festival of covenant renewal at Shechem, likely anchored in the celebration of the New Year. The liturgy (1966b: 38) included exhortation (24:14–15), the assent of the congregation (24:16, 24), the proclamation of law (24:25), the sealing of the covenant (24:27), and perhaps blessings and curses (absent in Josh 24, but in Josh 8:34 and Deut 27:12). Von Rad refocused interpretation back to the structure of Josh 24 and the cultic setting of the two festivals (24:2–13 and 14–27). But the juxtaposition of the two separate festivals at distinct cultic locations did not achieve the goal of accounting for the present form of Josh 24, in which the two festivals are one event at the one location of Shechem.

Noth reinterpreted Josh 24 throughout his career, often revising past readings (see the review by Mäkipelto, 2018: 221–22). But he eventually arrived at an interpretation similar to that of von Rad, in which Josh 24 represented an independent cultic tradition, without direct literary ties to the Pentateuch (1971b: 137–38). Unlike von Rad, Noth identified only one cultic ceremony at Shechem that included (1) Joshua gathering the tribes at Shechem (24:1 [part]), (2) the review of history (24:2 [part], 3, 4 [part], 5–7, 8 [part], 9a, 10b, 11 [part], 13 [part]), (3) the covenant ceremony (24:14, 15–17 [part], 18, 25–27), and (4) the conclusion (24:28–30, 33). The influence of von Rad is evident in the passing statement of Noth (1971b: 138) that the original setting of the cultic ceremony could have been Gilgal. But he spends no time in reconstructing the role of Gilgal. Instead, Noth concentrated on Shechem as the original setting of the independent ceremony. The setting was reinforced by the terebinth tree (24:26), associated with Shechem in other traditions (e.g., Gen 33:20). Noth also emphasized the social function of the cultic ritual as the formation of the twelve tribes into an amphictyonic league, similar to the Greek practice (see the "Introduction"). The gathering at Shechem bound the twelve tribes together at the central cultic site for worshiping Yahweh, the God of Israel, and for proclaiming allegiance to the law, which for Noth (1930: 90–107) was the Book of the Covenant. The northern setting of Shechem indicated that the house of Joseph was the originator of the amphictyonic league, under the leadership of Joshua (1930: 66–86).

G. E. Mendenhall (1955: 36) agreed with Noth that Josh 24 recounted a ceremony at Shechem aimed at forming the Israelite tribes into an amphictyonic league. But he accentuated the legal dimension of the league by comparing Josh 24 to Hittite treaties from the late second millennium BCE (for a more broad-based study, see Baltzer, 1971). V. Korošec (1931: 12–14) had identified a standard treaty form of six parts in the Hittite treaties: (1) preamble, (2) historical prologue, (3) stipulations, (4) deposition of the stipulations in the temple and their periodic reading, (5) the naming of the gods as witnesses, and (6) curses and blessings. Mendenhall argued that the Hittite treaties represented an international form employed throughout the ancient Near East, including Israel. The clearest evidence was Josh 24, where the covenant ceremony followed the same pattern, including preamble (vv. 1–2a), historical prologue (vv. 2b–13), stipulation (v. 14), codification and deposit for periodic reading (vv. 25–26), and witness (v. 27). The similarities between Josh 24 and the Hittite treaties pointed to the antiquity of the original form of the tradition, which, for Mendenhall, indicated its role in the historical formation of the tribes into an amphictyonic league.

Southern Literary Composition

L. Perlitt (1969: 239–84) provided a new direction in the interpretation of Josh 24. He judged the covenant ceremony to be a seventh-century BCE Deuteronomic composition by a southern author after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. The sermonic style reflected a late conception of religion that underscored the need for the people to choose between Yahweh and foreign gods (1969: 244–45). Source critics and tradition historians had already identified Deuteronomic motifs throughout Josh 24, but Perlitt expanded this research to argue that the Deuteronomic motifs were the building blocks of the entire narrative, rather than later additions to an ancient cultic ritual at Shechem or to the northern E source. The identification of the entire account of Josh 24 as Deuteronomic removed the central criterion for identifying an ancient ceremony and for tracing its literary development. It is not surprising, therefore, that Perlitt argued for the literary unity of Josh 24. He noted that the entire narrative emphasized the prominent role of speeches coupled with the motif of "words," prominent in Deuteronomic literature (1969: 241). The speeches of Yahweh and of Joshua in the review of history (24:2–13) moved back and forth, often switching between the two characters, indicating their artificial nature (1969: 242). The aim was to remind the tribes of Yahweh's past acts of salvation, with a focus on the present time of the audience, rather than past events. The speeches, therefore, were not a liturgy about a primary experience, but a narrative fiction to present instruction in sermonic form based on Deut 26:5b–9 (1969: 242, 252). The same dynamic continued in the covenant ceremony (24:14–24). The progression of the speech acts culminated in the writing down of "words" on the stone (24:26). Perlitt (1969: 242, 243, 245, 252, 253) underscored parallels to Deut 26 and to the instruction of Samuel (1 Sam 12) as evidence of the Deuteronomic authorship.

Subsequent researchers followed the interpretation of Perlitt by reading Josh 24 as a literary creation, rather than as an ancient tradition or as a source document. Most also concluded that the author was southern. But many judged his identification of only Deuteronomic motifs in Josh 24 to be too narrow (see Mäkipelto, 2018: 173). According to Van Seters (1984: 148), the inclusion of the patriarchal ancestors (24:2–4) departed from Deuteronomic tradition, as did the inclusion of the Red Sea (24:6; 1983: 366). The summary of the exodus (24:5–7) indicated a combination of Priestly and non-Priestly literature from Exod 13–15 (e.g., Nihan, 2012: 95–96; Anbar, 1992: 33–38, 90–91; Römer and Brettler, 2000: esp. 410–13). The broad inner-biblical connections led Koopmans (1990: 119) to conclude that 24:5–7 represented a "free condensing of the Exodus account." The same broad use of the Pentateuch continued in the account of Israel's confrontation with the Amorites (Josh 24:8; Num 21:12, 21; 22:2) and in the danger posed by Balak and Balaam (Josh 24:9–10; Num 22–24; see Anbar, 1992: 91–92). The demand that the people choose between Yahweh and the foreign gods (24:15) also contrasted to Deuteronomic tradition, where Yahweh is the one who chooses Israel (e.g., Deut 4:37, 7:6–7). Nielsen (1955: 133) judged the reference to the terebinth tree in conjunction with the sanctuary of Yahweh (24:25–27) to be one of the most "undeuteronomistic" expressions in the entire Deuteronomistic corpus of literature.

The variety of motifs from the Pentateuch and the many points of contrast with Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic literature fueled debate over the date of the composition of Josh 24. Some argued that it was older than Deuteronomic literature. D. S. Sperling (1987: 133), for example, concluded that "Perlitt's attempt to link Joshua 24 to Deuteronomy on linguistic grounds has virtually no basis." The Mesha Inscription, he added, provided closer parallels (the phrases "from time immemorial" [24:2; *KAI* 181:10] and "for many days" [24:7; *KAI* 181:8]). Sperling concluded that the composition of Josh 24 could not be earlier than the eighth century BCE. Koopmans (1990: 408–13) extended the research of Sperling with a poetic analysis of Josh 24 to push the covenant at Shechem back to the time of the Israelite settlement in the land; the writing down of the tradition may have been as early as the formation of the pentateuchal material, but certainly before Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic tradition. Noort (1998b) too modified Perlitt's reading, concentrating on the unique motifs in Josh 24, including Yahweh's giving land to Esau (24:4), Jericho fighting Israel (24:11), the demand to choose between Yahweh and other gods (24:14–24; see also 1 Kgs 18), and the motif of the stone (24:26–27), all of which pointed to a pre-Deuteronomic composition.

The majority of interpreters moved in the opposite direction, accounting for the wide range of motifs from the Pentateuch as the result of an exilic or postexilic Judean author. Van Seters (1984: 153) identified the author of Josh 24 with the exilic Yahwist;

he stated that the idealization of Joshua as a prophet who exhorts Israel to "keep the faith" addressed the "theological crisis of the exile." E. W. Nicholson (1986: 163) rejected Van Seters's identification of the author as the "Yahwist," favoring instead a Deuteronomistic composition, but he too concluded that Josh 24 presupposed the exile. Anbar (1992: 101–15, 117–38) pushed the date of composition to the postexilic period on the basis of the connections between Josh 24, Judges (6:6–10, 10:10–16), and 1 Samuel (7:3–4, 10:17–27a, 12:6–25) and the mixture of Priestly and Deuteronomistic motifs (see also Römer and Brettler, 2000: 413–14). Blum (2006: 98; 1984: 45–60) reinforced the conclusion, noting the interdependence of Josh 24 and the Jacob tradition in Genesis, specifically the themes of Jacob's burial of foreign gods (Gen 35:1–4) and of his purchase of property at Shechem (Gen 33:18–20). Schmid (2017: 151–55) also favored a postexilic date for Josh 24 on the basis of its broad literary horizon, which reached back to the account of Abraham's arrival at Shechem (Gen 12:6, 8). Many authors expanded similar arguments in favor of the exilic or postexilic date of 24:1–28 (e.g., Kratz, 2002: 299–307; Knauf, 2008: 193–200; Römer, 2006; 2007: 205–6; Popović, 2009; Krause, 2017; Edenburg, 2017).

The later dating of Josh 24 and the identification of the author as a southern Judean did not resolve arguments over the literary character of the narrative. Becker (2006), for example, argued that Josh 24 underwent a history of redaction (for variations, see Mölle, 1980; Kreuzer, 1989: 193–200; Fritz, 1994: 246–47; Nentel, 2000: 69–127; R. Müller, 2004: 251–54; C. Levin, 2013: 125–28). The differences between the MT and the LXX provided the starting point for identifying earlier redactions, each of which was aimed at relating Josh 24 to different literary contexts—a process Becker described as "end-redaction" (see also Mäkipelto, 2018: 170–242, esp. 198–242). Joshua 24 was a political narrative, according to Becker. Its original form (24:1–2a, 14a, 15a [part], 15b, 16, 18b, 22, 28) was a ceremony about choosing Yahweh as the true king; it was tied to the conflicts over kingship in the stories of Abimelech at Shechem (Judg 9) and of Samuel and the elders (1 Sam 8:18, 10:19b–20). The review of history (Josh 24:1–13) was a later addition (see also Kratz, 2005: 199; Mäkipelto, 2018: 207–8), which shifted the context from Judges–Kings to Genesis–Deuteronomy, creating the larger literary Enneateuch. Resumptive repetitions (vv. 14b/15b, 18/21) provided evidence of further editing in the ceremony (24:14–28), some of which were aimed at strengthening the literary ties to Judges–Kings, while other editing linked Josh 24 more securely to the Pentateuch. The shifting literary contexts formed an Enneateuch, in which Josh 24 functioned as a hinge. Others continued to follow Perlitt's conclusion that 24:1–27 was a unified text. Römer (2006: 536–41), for example, argued that Josh 24 was for all practical purposes a unified composition, with minor additions (e.g., Terah, 24:2; Moses and Aaron in the MT, 24:5; and Balaam, 24:9–10). The unified reading of Josh 24 was supported by any number of recent interpreters, employing a variety of literary-critical methodologies (e.g., Sperling, 1987; Giblin, 1964; Koopmans, 1990: 241–344; Van Seters, 1984; Noort, 1998b; Blum, 1984: 39–40, 45–61; Nihan, 2012: 96; Schmid, 1999: 209–30; 2012; 2017; Popović, 2009; Edenburg, 2017: 161–80).

Northern Literary Composition

The northern setting of Shechem has influenced interpretations of the identity of the author and the purpose of the covenant ceremony in Josh 24. Shechem provided the basis for Wellhausen to identify 24:1–27 with the northern E source, written in the monarchic period as the conclusion to the Hexateuch. Shechem also indicated to von Rad and Noth that 24:1–27 was an early northern tribal festival that originated with the tribe of Joseph. The northern identity of the author was rejected, however, in the later dating of 24:1–27. Perlitt identified the author of Josh 24 as Deuteronomic and therefore southern. The challenge for Perlitt, and for subsequent researchers who follow his interpretation, was to account for the northern setting of Shechem in a southern composition that was pan-Israelite in scope. This was not the case in the previous source-critical and tradition-historical readings. Perlitt was forced to explain why the southern Deuteronomic author, writing from Jerusalem—most likely during the reign of Manasseh—would anchor such an important account of covenant at the northern site of Shechem.

Interpreters provide a variety of reasons for the setting of Shechem in a southern composition. Perlitt (1969: 258–66) advanced a political anti-Assyrian interpretation of Josh 24. He argued that it was written by a southern Deuteronomic author to northerners after the fall of the kingdom. The cultic motifs of the sanctuary, sacred tree, and stone with written statutes and ordinances (24:25–27) indicated that the southern author was aware of the past religious significance of Shechem to northerners, even though the tradition could not be recovered and the cult at Shechem played no role in the seventh century BCE. The setting was based in part on the fact that Shechem played no active role in the seventh century BCE; it allowed the Deuteronomic author to use Shechem as a means of concealing the anti-Assyrian message to northern refugees, under the literary guise of resisting the indigenous Amorites and their foreign gods. The resistance to Assyria was couched in the language of covenant, according to Perlitt, signifying an oath of loyalty to Yahweh. Noort (1998b: 103, 108) provided a similar reading, in which a southern author addressed northern refugees in the period of the monarchy. He concluded that the central theme of 24:1–27 was the question of who is the God in Israel; the challenge was aimed at the syncretistic practices in the north, after the fall of the kingdom, which threatened the south. Kreuzer (1989: 201–6) too identified the author as southern and as writing in the Deuteronomic tradition; but he placed the author later in the century, when Josiah penetrated the northern territory, thus accounting more concretely for the setting of Shechem. The choice to serve Yahweh in Josh 24, according to Kreuzer, was aimed at the northern population; it was meant to signify a new unity between the north and the south under the rule of Josiah.

Interpreters who date 24:1–27 to the exilic and postexilic periods continued to identify the author as southern, which again required explanation for the northern setting of Shechem in a ceremony advocating pan-Israelite identity. Knauf (2008: 195) interpreted the setting of Shechem as an anti-Samaritan polemic by a southern author. Others offered a nonpolemical meaning to the northern setting. Van Seters (1984: 153) identified the author of Josh 24 as the southern Yahwist, who chose the setting of Shechem because it represented an ancient "traditional and religious center," detached from the political history of the capital city of Samaria. The Yahwist used the memory of Shechem to address the crisis of the exile, in which the diaspora population was "tempted to worship the gods of these regions" (1984: 153). Edenburg (2017: 175–78) built on the reading of Van Seters. She also identified the author of Josh 24 as a southern Judean, although not the Yahwist, and the audience as Judeans residing in the eastern diaspora, who were confronted with "the choice between Yahweh and the nameless gods of other nations" (2017: 178). Shechem was a strategic choice by the Judean author, according to Edenburg, because its location outside of the confines of Yehud provided an analogy to those living in the diaspora—both settings were "extra-territorial" (2017: 175). But Edenburg added that the northern Samarians might also be the intended audience; in this case the ceremony in Josh 24 was the means by which "Judean scribes granted recognition to Samarians as members of a common Yahweh community" (2017: 179).

The suggestion that 24:1–27 was a Judean composition aimed at incorporating Samarians within pan-Israelite identity reflects recent research on the relationship between Samarians and Judeans in the postexilic period (e.g., Hjelm, 2000; Knoppers, 2013; Kartveit, 2009; Pummer, 2016; Hensel, 2016, 2019; see also the "Introduction" to *Joshua 1–12* [Dozeman, 2015]). The portrait of the Samaritans in the biblical literature (2 Kgs 17:24–40, Ezra 4:1–5, Neh 13:28–30, 2 Chr 30:1–18) and in Josephus (e.g., *Ant.* 9.277–91, 11.297–347, 20.118–36) supported a negative evaluation of Samaritans in past scholarship, in which they were judged to be a sectarian form of Yahwism that broke off from the Jerusalem priesthood (Pummer, 2009). The history of the Samaritans as a sectarian movement was judged to have little significance as regards the history of Second Temple Judaism, as illustrated, for example, in the historical summary of G. Widengren (1977). New research has clarified the prominence of the Samarians in the postexilic period and the active relationship between them and Judeans throughout the Persian period (e.g., Hensel, 2019; Heckl, 2018). The letter from Elephantine sent both to Jerusalem and to Samaria for instruction on Passover observance provides a window into the dynamic relationship between the two provinces (*ANET* 491–92).

The growing evidence that Samarians and Judeans represented distinct but complementary forms of Yahwism provided the background for Blum (1984: 45–60; 1997: 198–99; 2006: 102–3) to interpret Josh 24 as a composition by a Judean author aimed at northern Samarians—not as an anti-Samaritan polemic but with the goal of fashioning pan-Israelite identity that included both Samarians and Judeans. The setting of Shechem was important, according to Blum, because it represented a common heritage "for the citizens of Samaria and Judea." Römer and Brettler (2000: 413) found the conclusion of Blum to be "convincing"; they added, "It is impossible to imagine that the intellectual groups of postexilic Judaism lived in total isolation from each other." Römer (2017: 206) questioned whether the pan-Israelite vision of Samarians and southern Judeans in Josh 24 may also be intended to counter the exclusion of Samarians in Neh 13. Schmid (2017; 2012: 38–40) further reinforced the reading of Blum; he too identified Josh 24 as a southern composition aimed at relating Samarians and Judeans as constituting "all the tribes of Israel." The history of Shechem as the location for the founding legend of kings and of the theocracy (1 Kgs 12:1) made it "a logical choice as the venue for Israel's decision" (2017: 159). But questions linger over the use of Shechem as a symbol of pan-Israelite identity by a southern author in the postexilic period.

C. H. W. Brekelmans (1991: 3) noted that Shechem is an unusual setting for a southern composition aimed at pan-Israelite identity; he added that such an interpretation must account for the inclusion of a sanctuary, a sacred tree, and a stone that functions as a witness, all of which lack a satisfactory explanation when 24:1–27 is read as a late Judean composition. For this reason, he returned to the position that 24:1–27

represented earlier tradition. The early dating of Josh 24, however, does not account for the literary evidence from recent research. The covenant ceremony at Shechem is a late northern composition, sometime in the exilic or postexilic period. The date indicates that the aim of the ceremony is to create pan-Israelite identity, which included northern Samarians, southern Judeans, and members of the diaspora—in other words, the "twelve tribes" of the book of Joshua. The growing consensus among researchers that the author is a southern Judean, whether identified as the Deuteronomistic Historian, the Yahwist, or the Hexateuchal redactor, leaves the setting of Shechem unexplained, as Brekelmans rightly noted. The setting favors, instead, a northern Samarian author, whose aim is to fashion the twelve tribes into an amphictyonic league at Shechem, centered on Yahweh, the God of Israel (24:2, 23). The identification of the northern authorship of Josh 24 provides a window into the Samarian perspective on tradition in the review of history (24:2–13) and in the ritual ceremony (24:14–27), in which the covenant of the league was codified in the "book of the Torah of God" (24:26) and placed beneath the sacred tree in the sanctuary of Yahweh at Shechem, with a stone functioning as a witness (24:27).

The northern composition of Josh 24 is a unified literary work with minor additions. The repetition of motifs between the review of history (24:1–13) and the covenant ceremony (24:14–18, 25–27) indicates the literary unity between the two sections, while also clarifying that 24:19–24 is a later addition. The review of history (24:1–13) progresses from the fathers across the River (24:2), who served other gods (24:3); to the account of the exodus that took place before the eyes of the people (24:5–7); to the conquest, which twice mentions Amorites (24:8, 11). The same pattern repeats at the outset of the covenant ceremony (24:14–18). Joshua refers to the fathers across the River who served other gods (24:14, 15) and the Amorites in the land (24:15). The response of the people continues the pattern; they recount the exodus that took place before their eyes (24:17) and the conquest of the land tied to the Amorites (24:18a). The repetitions indicate that the review of history (24:1–13) and the covenant ceremony (24:14–18) were written together and that they are intended to balance each other through the repetition of motifs.

The change of motifs in 24:19–24 indicates an addition. It states that the people are not able to serve Yahweh (24:19); it also shifts the threat to Israel from the "other gods" to the "foreign gods" (24:20, 23). The three pledges of the people to serve Yahweh (24:18b, 21, 24) further demonstrate that 24:19–24 is an addition. The first pledge (24:18) is part of the original account of the covenant ceremony; it occurs within the parallel structure of the review of history (24:1–13) and of the covenant ceremony (24:14–18). In this instance, the choice of the people to serve Yahweh completes the cycle. The second pledge (24:21) is embedded in the addition (24:19–24), in which Joshua declares the people's inability to serve Yahweh, thus negating the previous pledge (24:18). The third pledge (24:24) concludes the addition; it functions as a resumptive repetition to mark the return to the original covenant ceremony (24:25–27). The inevitable unfaithfulness of Israel to which they become legal witnesses (24:19–24) disrupts the original commitment ceremony (24:14–18, 25–27; see also R. Müller, 2004: 217; Aurelius, 2008: 100). The addition even negates the content of the original covenant ceremony. In the original ceremony (24:14–18), the choice of Israel (24:15) has positive implications for serving Yahweh (24:18). In the addition (24:19–24), the choice of

Israel (24:22) confirms their inability to serve Yahweh (24:19). The insertion is likely part of the larger DtrN revision of the book of Joshua (e.g., 1:7–8, 8:34–35, 13:1b–6, 23:1–16) or a later addition within the same tradition (Pakkala, 2008: 162–66), which also links the ceremony to the many instances of unfaithfulness in Judges.

Finally, there are also minor additions in 24:1–13. The "heads [of the fathers of the tribes]" (24:1) is a Priestly addition that runs throughout the distribution of the land (see the "Composition" to Josh 14). The addition of "Moses and Aaron" is a late Priestly insertion to the MT version of 24:5 (Mäkipelto, 2018: 73–74). The addition functions uneasily in the review of history. Aurelius (2008: 108) pointed out that the focus in Josh 24 is on the Deity and not on the heroic action of Moses and Aaron. Nielsen (1955: 88) added that the speech of Joshua contains no reference to Sinai/Horeb. Sperling (1987: 124) argued further that the addition cannot derive from Deuteronomistic tradition, since Aaron functions only negatively in Deuteronomy. The references to Moses and Aaron in other texts describe some form of action in connection with the exodus, such as "bringing forth" (1 Sam 12:8), "going before" (Mic 6:4), or "performing signs" (Ps 105:26). In Josh 24:5a, by contrast, their names are simply inserted without function, further indicating the later insertion of the phrase. The insertion is most likely Priestly; it aligns the covenant ceremony at Shechem with the late Priestly insertion of the Levitical cities, where Aaron and the Aaronide priests also play a prominent role (Josh 20–21).

DEATH AND BURIAL

Joshua Within Larger Literary Works

Researchers debate whether the death and burial of Joshua (24:29–31) is intended to end the book of Joshua or to provide transition to the book of Judges, where the death and burial of Joshua is repeated (Judg 2:6–10). The dominant approach has assumed an original connection between Joshua and Judges within larger literary works, such as the Hexateuch, the Deuteronomistic History, or the Enneateuch (see Noort, 1998a: 198–205; C. Levin, 2011). The repetition of Joshua's death and burial at the end of Joshua (24:29–31) at the beginning of Judges (2:6–10) was considered the result of the combination of sources or of the history of redaction within the larger literary complexes.

Eissfeldt (1922: 245–53; 1965: 254–56; 1970: 90–101) provides a source-critical argument for the original unity between Joshua and Judges, based on Hexateuchal sources. He identified the early L source as including material from both Josh 24 and Judg 1–2 (Josh 24:2 [reference to Terah], 4b–5 [minus reference to "Moses and Aaron"], parts of 6, 7, 9, 11, 17, 19, 25–26a, 27a; Judg 1:1–4, 9, 16–17, 20–22, 27–36; 2:1a, 5b). The E source constituted the remainder of the material in Josh 24. The J source, like the L source, spanned Josh 24 and Judg 1 (Josh 24:25 [reference to Shechem], 26b, 27b; Judg 1:5–7, 10–15, 18–19, 23–26). The scope of the L and J sources indicated that Joshua and Judges were always interwoven in different versions of the Hexateuch and that the death of Joshua was recorded separately in the L source (Judg 1:1–4) and in the E source (Josh 24:28–30, 32–33); it was absent in the J source. The multiple accounts of Joshua's death within a continuous narrative arose when the separate death notices of Joshua in the L (Judg 1:1–4) and E (Josh 24:28–30, 32–33) sources were combined by a Deuteronomistic redactor, who refashioned the sources to reflect an incomplete conquest based on Israel's unfaithfulness. A second Deuteronomistic editor framed Josh 24–Judg 2:5 with an additional speech of Joshua (Josh 23) and another account of Joshua's death (Josh 2:6–9). The result, according to Eissfeldt, was that Joshua dies in Josh 24:28–30 (E), is declared dead in Judg 1:1 (L), and dies again in Judg 2:6–9 (second Dtr revision).

Noth (1971b, 1981a, 1981b) also assumed that Joshua and Judges were always connected in a continuous narrative. He shifted the paradigm, however, from source criticism to tradition history and redaction criticism, while also replacing the Hexateuch with the Deuteronomistic History as the literary corpus for interpreting the repetition of the death and burial notices of Joshua. The Deuteronomistic version of Joshua concluded with the farewell speech in Josh 23 leading directly to the death of Joshua in Judg 2:6–11. Thus, the composition of Joshua was always tied to Judges within the Deuteronomistic History. The late insertion of the independent covenant ceremony at Shechem in Josh 24, with its own account of the death of Joshua (24:28–31), separated Joshua and Judges, while also creating the repetition of Joshua's death and burial in the present sequence of Joshua (24:28–31) and Judges (2:6–10). Many researchers agreed with Noth's identification of the Deuteronomistic History, but his analysis of composition underwent critical evaluation, introducing modifications to the Deuteronomistic History (see also the "Comments" on Josh 23). For example, some interpreters reversed the sequence of composition between Josh 23 and 24. W. Richter (1964: 44–48), followed by de Geus (1966), argued that a version of Josh 24 (parts of 24:1–27) was the original farewell speech of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History, that it concluded with the death and burial notice of Joshua (24:28–30), and that it continued into the account of the unfaithfulness of Israel in Judges (parts of 2:8–19). The farewell speech of Joshua in Josh 23 and his death notice in Judg 2:6–10 were later compositions.

Smend (1971b) followed the trend of interpreting Josh 24 as the original ending to the book of Joshua and Josh 23 as a later addition, but he added a more comprehensive modification of the Deuteronomistic History as two stages of composition in Joshua and Judges (see the "Composition" to Josh 23 and the "Introduction"). The Deuteronomistic History (DtrH) recounted the completed conquest; it contained the death and burial of Joshua in Josh 24 (24:28–33). The nomistic Deuteronomistic redaction (DtrN) introduced the theme of the incomplete conquest; it contained the death and burial of Joshua in Judg 2 (2:6–9). Both stages of composition linked the books of Joshua and Judges. The death and burial notice of Joshua at the conclusion of the book of Joshua (24:28–33) provided the original transition in DtrH to the change in generations in Judges (2:10). The speech of Joshua in Josh 23 was a revision (DtrN), which introduced the theme of the incomplete conquest. The revision continued into Judges with the account of the incomplete conquest (1:1–2:5) and the additional notice of Joshua's death and burial (2:6–9), which functioned as a resumptive repetition in order to return to the original story line of DtrH (Judg 2:10ff.).

Subsequent redaction-critical studies modified Smend's interpretation of 24:28–31 (e.g., H. N. Rösel, 1980: 342–50; Fritz, 1994: 250–52; Jericke, 1996; Nentel, 2000: 66–96). Rake (2006: 131–32), for example, assumed an original literary connection between Joshua and Judges, but she rejected Smend's argument that the death notice of Joshua (24:27–31) provided the transition between the two books, noting that the text was meant to function as an ending and that it did not proceed into Judges (see also Amit, 1999: 136; Edenburg, 2018: 365–66). Rake argued that the original link between Joshua and Judges included the departure of the tribes (Josh 24:28), the address of the messenger of Yahweh (Judg 2:1–5), and the transition in generations signified by the death and burial of Joshua in Judges (2:6–9). The death and burial of Joshua at the conclusion of the book of Joshua (24:29–31), as well as the death notices of Moses (Josh 1:1a) and Joshua (Judg 1:1a), were later additions to separate the books of Joshua and Judges in order to sharpen the distinct epochs between the generation of Joshua and the later judges (see the "Introduction").

Joshua as an Independent Book

The insight of Rake that 24:28–31 is a conclusion, rather than a transition to the book of Judges, provides the starting point for my interpretation. I interpret the death notice of Joshua (24:28–31) as the conclusion to the independent book of Joshua (see the "Introduction" to *Joshua 1–12* [Dozeman, 2015]). The process by which the book of Joshua is linked to Judges entails more than the repetition of Joshua's death in Josh 24:28–31 at Judg 2:6–10. It includes the interpretation of five death notices: (1) the death and burial of Moses at the conclusion of the book of Deuteronomy (Deut 34:5–9), (2) the death notice of Moses at the outset of Joshua (Josh 1:1a), (3) the death and burial of Joshua at the conclusion of Joshua (Josh 24:28–31), (4) the death notice of Joshua at the outset of Judges (Judg 1:1a), and (5) the death and burial of Joshua at the close of the introduction to the book of Judges (Judg 2:6–10).

The death and burial of Moses in Deuteronomy (34:5–9) and of Joshua in Judges (2:6–10) are related. Both texts focus on intergenerational transition. The death notice of Moses likely functioned as the conclusion to the book of Deuteronomy (part of Deut 34:1–6). Late pentateuchal editors refashioned the text to include the motif of generational transition from Moses to Joshua (Deut 34:7–9). Römer and Brettler (2000: 401–19) attribute the revision to a late Dtr-P redaction aimed at linking the book of Deuteronomy with the story of Joshua and the conquest. The death notice of Joshua in Judges (2:6–10) is related to the addition of Deut 34:7–9; it repeats similar motifs from the death notice of Moses in describing the death of Joshua (e.g., divine promise of land to the ancestors, death of a hero, burial, age, mourning), while also extending the theme of intergenerational transition beyond Joshua to the generation of the judges (see the "Introduction" to *Joshua 1–12* [Dozeman, 2015]). The parallels in the motifs and in the emphasis on intergenerational transition link Deut 34:5–9 and Judg 2:6–10 in a narrative that traces the history of Israel as one of decline from Moses through the exodus generation to the period of the judges. The underlying themes of this narrative are the partial conquest and the conditional nature of covenant.

The death notice of Joshua at the conclusion to the book of Joshua (24:29–31) is not part of the narrative sequence of Deuteronomy and Judges. The MT 24:29–31 lacks the theme of intergenerational transition; it is intended to be a conclusion to the book of Joshua. The death notice maintains a focus on Joshua's generation alone (24:31). The MT 24:29–31 also lacks the theme of the partial conquest and the disobedience of the generation of the judges, as in Judg 2:6–10 (compare LXX Josh 24:28–33). As a result, 24:28–31 functions as a positive conclusion to the book of Joshua, in which the Israelites are faithful in following Yahweh (24:31). The further death notices of Moses and of Joshua, "after the death of Moses/Joshua," at the outset of Joshua (1:1a) and Judges (1:1a) are additions to link the book of Joshua with Deuteronomy and Judges (H. N. Rösel, 1999b: 53; compare Rake, 2006: 131; C. Levin, 2011). Each notice provides a literary bridge to the preceding account of the death and burial of Moses (Josh 1:1a, Deut 34:5–9) and of Joshua (Judg 1:1a, Josh 34:28–31).

The placement of Joshua between Deuteronomy and Judges creates the repetition of Joshua's death and burial at the conclusion of Joshua (24:28–31) and at the beginning of Judges (2:6–10). The insertion of Joshua was part of the DtrN revision of the book; it refashioned the original narrative of the completed conquest into an incomplete event, in which indigenous nations remained in the land (e.g., 13:1b–6, 23:1–16, and other texts). The result is the conflict in theme surrounding the conquest throughout the book of Joshua, which allows Joshua to function within its present narrative context as a transitional book between Deuteronomy and Judges. The placement of Joshua into its present narrative context represents a pro-Judean revision. It subordinates the central event in Joshua, of the ark's procession to the northern site of Ebal/Gerizim, to a preliminary episode within the larger story of the ark's procession to the Jerusalem temple in Judah (e.g., Samuel and Kings).

Ending of Joshua in the MT and the LXX

Research by Milstein (2016), Edenburg (2016), C. Levin (2011), and others (e.g., Berner and Samuel, 2018) has demonstrated the practice of adding material to the ending of scrolls. The practice is evident in both the MT and the LXX conclusions to Joshua; each adds different material to the end of the book. The MT concludes the book with the notice of the burial of Joshua (24:29–31). The bones of Joseph (24:32) and Eleazar (24:33) are later additions. The closing portrait concentrates on the second generation of Israelites to leave Egypt, who are evaluated in a positive manner: "Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua" (24:31). The LXX concludes the book of Joshua with the notice of four burials: Joshua (24:30–31), the bones of Joseph (24:32), Eleazar (24:33), and Phinehas (24:33). The LXX also includes the flint knives used for circumcision as relics in the burial of Joshua (LXX 24:31a; see also 5:4–5, 21:42a–d), the negative evaluation of the third generation of the Israelites (LXX 24:33b; see also Judg 2:6–10), and the oppression of Israel by Eglon (LXX 24:33b; see also Judg 3:12), all of which are absent in the MT.

Interpreters debate whether the MT or the LXX represents the more original ending to the book of Joshua. The text-critical arguments are often interwoven with literary criticism, especially the inner-biblical comparison of the MT and the LXX to Joshua's death in Judg 2:6–9. Boling and Wright (1982: 541) concluded that the "MT is in disarray" and that "[m]issing parts survive in the LXX, and the doublet in Judg 2:6–9 helps to restore order." Rofé (1982) too argued that the LXX, with its inclusion of the death of Phinehas (LXX 24:33a) and the unfaithfulness of Israel leading to the subjugation by Eglon (LXX 24:33b), represented the original ending. He argued further that the LXX ending of Joshua progressed immediately to the story of Eglon in Judg 3:12–13, thus eliminating the double account of Joshua's death and burial (Josh 24:27–28, Judg 2:8–9). Rofé supported his interpretation by noting the unusual lengthening of the Greek text in contrast to its tendency to shorten the MT. Other motifs supporting the priority of the LXX included the absence of the flint knives in the MT, which Rofé judged to represent a later rejection of relics. He also pointed out the close parallel between the Greek version and the Damascus Document (V:1–5). Mäkipelto (2020: 127–30) also judged the order of the LXX to favor its priority over the MT, noting that the evaluation of the faithfulness of the second generation (LXX 24:29) before the death and burial of Joshua (LXX 24:30–31) tied in more closely with the preceding covenant ceremony. The order of the MT, by contrast, in which the faithfulness of Israel (MT 24:31) is stated after the death of Joshua (MT 24:29–30), was more detached from the covenant ceremony. He judged the MT to be a secondary development aimed at harmonizing with Deut 34:5–9, where the motif of the faithfulness of the Israelites (Deut 34:9) also followed the notice of the death and burial of Moses (Deut 34:5–9).

I favor the priority of the MT over the LXX. The MT 24:28–33 is not a secondary harmonization toward Deut 34:5–9, based on the placement of the faithfulness of the Israelites after the death of the hero. Although Deut 34:5–9 and MT Josh 24:28–33 are similar in this regard, the texts are not harmonized; they are structured differently, especially in the relationship of the Israelites to the death of the hero. Deuteronomy 34:5–9 is structured around intergenerational transition from Moses to Joshua, while the structure of MT Josh 24:28–33 lacks intergenerational transition (see the discussion above). M. Rösel (1980) added that the evaluation of the people is expected after the death and burial of the hero (e.g., Gideon, Judg 8:32–33; Tola, Jair, Judg 10:1–6), as is the case in the MT (24:31), and not before, as in the LXX (24:29) or in Judg 2:7. Nelson (1997: 280–82) also noted that the temporal clause introducing the death of Joshua in the LXX, "and it happened after these things" (24:30), is out of place after the evaluation of the faithfulness of the second generation (LXX 24:29); it should follow Joshua's dispersal of the people, which is the case in the MT (24:28). The dislocation of the temporal reference in the LXX favors the priority of the MT.

The priority of the MT over the LXX suggests that LXX 24:28–33 has been harmonized toward the death and burial of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10, 3:12. The framing of the death notice of Joshua in the book of Judges (2:7–9), with the contrasting evaluations of the second (2:6) and third (2:10) generations, establishes the pattern of faithfulness and unfaithfulness that is central to the book. The pattern is absent in the book of Joshua, suggesting that LXX Josh 24:28–33 represents harmonization toward Judg 2:6–10, which is underscored when the LXX even includes the subjugation of Israel by Elgon (LXX Josh 24:33b, Judg 3:12). The addition of the ark and the burial of Phinehas (LXX Josh 24:28–33) extends the inner-biblical connection between Joshua and Judges even further to the tribal war against Benjamin at the conclusion of the book of Judges, when Phinehas is associated with the ark in leading the tribes in war (Judg 20:28).

Comments

LEADERS AT SHECHEM

The assembly at Shechem is pan-Israelite in scope: "Joshua gathered all of the tribes of Israel at Shechem" (1:1a). The leadership includes four groups: "the elders of Israel, its heads, its judges, and its scribes" (1:1b). The "heads" is an addition; it is an abbreviated form of the "heads of the families," who represent lay leadership tied to the priests, Eleazar (14:1a, 19:51b, 21:1) and Phinehas (22:14, 30; see the "Comments" on Josh 14). The remaining three groups represent the leadership of the tribes in the original form of the book. The elders participate with Joshua in lamenting before the ark (7:6) and in waging war against Ai (8:10; see also 20:4). The scribes (or "officers" in the NRSV) are associated with the camp; twice they prepare the camp for crossing the Jordan River (1:10, 3:2). The judges are limited to the texts that include all of the leaders. The combination appears three times in Joshua: twice in the original version of the book (8:33 [MT], 24:1) and once in the DtrN addition (23:2; see the "Comments" to Josh 23). The references to the group of leaders in the original form of the book appear in the related rituals at the altar and the covenant ceremony. The first instance is during the worship service at Ebal/Gerizim: "All the Israelites, their elders, scribes, their judges were standing on either side of the ark" (8:33). The same group returns for the closing ceremony at Shechem (24:1). The combination of the leaders outside of Joshua is limited to Deuteronomy (29:9, 31:28; see Nihan, 2012: 80; G. Schmitt, 1964: 144).

SALVATION HISTORY

Joshua 24:2–13 is a theology of salvation history organized into four sections. The introduction (24:2a) makes clear that the review of history is meant to be a revelation of Yahweh as the "God of Israel" (see Stahl, 2021). The following three sections center on distinct bodies of water, in which the river crossings of the Euphrates (24:2b–4) and of the Jordan (24:8–13) frame the confrontation at the Red Sea (24:5–7). Abraham's crossing of the Euphrates (*mēʿēber hannāhār,* 24:3b) marks the transition from polytheism "across the River" (*bĕʿēber hannāhār,* 24:2b) to his entrance into Canaan. The history of the tribal conquest (24:8–13) begins "across the Jordan" (*bĕʿēber hayyardēn,* 24:8) before the tribes "cross the Jordan" (*wataʿbrû ʿet-hayyardēn,* 24:11) to take possession of the land. The river crossings frame the central event of salvation at the Red Sea, in which Yahweh defeats the Egyptian army (24:5–7).

Yahweh is identified at the outset as the "God of Israel" in a prophetic speech of revelation (24:2a). The epithet "God of Israel" appears fifteen times in the book of Joshua (7:13, 19 [twice]; 8:30; 9:18 [twice]; 10:40, 42; 13:14, 33; 14:14; 22:16, 24; 24:2, 23) to describe the relationship of the Deity to the twelve tribes. The most important occurrence is the dedication of the altar on Mount Ebal to "Yahweh, the God of Israel" (8:30), which ties the sacrificial ritual at Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35) to the covenant ceremony at Shechem (24:2a). Most of the other references focus on the tribes to define the scope of pan-Israelite identity. For example, the epithet first appears in the story of Achen, when "Yahweh the God of Israel" purges the camp of sacrilege (7:13, 19). The title is repeated in stories that define the social boundaries of the twelve tribes within the land, including the separation of the Gibeonites as cultic slaves (9:18) and the extermination of the indigenous nations (10:40, 42). The title also explores new boundaries within the twelve-tribe system, as in the inclusion of Caleb even though he is a Kenizzite (14:14), new worship practices between the western and eastern tribes that emerge from the debate over the eastern altar (22:16, 24), and the exclusion of Levites from possessing land so that they might serve the cult (13:14, 33).

Salvation history begins in the legendary past with the ancestors living beyond the Euphrates and worshiping many gods (24:2b–4). This period is marked off from the later history of the tribes by time and place; the era was "from time immemorial" (*mēʿôlām*) in the territory "across the River" (*bĕʿēber hannāhār*). A similar reference to the legendary past is evoked in the description of the Nephilim; they too "were the heroes of old" (*mē'ôlām,* Gen 6:4). In the book of Joshua, this ancient period is the time before Yahweh was the "God of Israel," when the primeval ancestors Terah, Abraham, and Nahor served "other gods" (*'ĕlōhîm 'ăḥērîm,* 24:2b). The transition from the legendary past to the history of the tribes occurs when Yahweh takes Abraham "across the River" to Canaan (24:3). Nelson (1997: 274) notes that "a change in territory . . . means a change in gods." The divine leading of Abraham across the Euphrates is the beginning of the history of the "God of Israel" and the twelve tribes.

The central event of salvation is the divine rescue of Israel at the Red Sea with the destruction of the Egyptian army (24:5–7). The event focuses on the action of the Deity (24:5–7a), framed by statements of travel (24:4b, 7b). The opening statement contrasts Esau's inheritance of land with the journey of Jacob to Egypt (24:4b). The concluding statement of travel transitions in time from Jacob's journey to the audience of Joshua at Shechem, who are described as having experienced the wilderness (24:7b). The divine rescue at the sea (24:5–7a) bridges the gap in time between the two statements of travel; it describes the experience of the past "fathers" (24:6–7a), but it concludes with a direct address to Joshua's audience, whose "eyes saw what I did to the Egyptians" (24:7b). What the twelve tribes saw was the action of Yahweh destroying the Egyptian army in the midst of the "sea." Three times in rapid succession the setting of the sea is reinforced: The people entered the sea (24:6a); the Egyptians pursued them into the Red Sea (24:6b); and Yahweh covered the Egyptian army with the sea (24:7a). The references repeat motifs from Exod 14–15 (e.g., 14:9, 22, 23, 28; 15:5). The divine rescue at the Red Sea provides the central revelation into the character of Yahweh as the "God of Israel," complementing the earlier revelation of "El, the living," at the Jordan River (3:10–11).

Salvation history concludes with the crossing of the Jordan River (22:8–13). Events take place on the eastern (24:8–10) and the western (24:11–13) sides of the river, paralleling the journey of the ancestors (24:2b–4). There is progression in theme, with references to the Amorites (24:8, 11b, 12) tying the events together. On the east side, Yahweh alone defeats the Amorites: "I [Yahweh] brought you to the land of the Amorites"; "I gave them into your hand"; "I destroyed them" (24:8). But on the west side, the tribes defeat the Amorites: "you drove out from before you the two kings of the Amorites" (MT 24:12). The emergence of the tribes as the central actors in the conquest is reinforced by comparison of the one unique event recorded on each side of the Jordan: the threat of Balak and Balaam on the east (24:9–10), and the attack of the lords of Jericho on the west (24:11). The central theme in the pentateuchal story of Balak and Balaam (Num 22–24) is that the Israelites are unaware of the threat and of the intervention of Yahweh to save them. The passive role of the tribes in the parent text conforms to their inactive role in the divine events of salvation east of the Jordan. But on the west side of the Jordan, the tribes actively fight against the lords of Jericho, prompting the additional divine statement that the conquest "was not with your sword or with your bow" (24:12). The phrase is a reinterpretation of Jacob's statement to Joseph that Ephraim and Manasseh would each receive an inheritance from Amorite land, which he took "with [his] sword and with [his] bow" (Gen 48:22b). The reinterpretation highlights the prominent role of the sons of Joseph, while also underscoring that the possession of land west of the Jordan was not the result of Jacob's conquest, but was a divine gift: "I [Yahweh] gave you the land for which you did not labor and cities that you did not build" (24:13; see Deut 6:10–11).

COVENANT CEREMONY

The covenant ceremony (24:14–27) begins with the pledge of loyalty (24:14–18). Joshua demands that the twelve tribes serve Yahweh (24:14–15), introducing again the contrast between the present time at Shechem and the legendary past of the ancestors. Twice Joshua refers to the polytheism of the ancestors "across the River" (24:14, 15), which is expanded to include the ancestors in Egypt as well (24:14). The tribes must choose between the past and the present—between the polytheism of the ancestors across the River and the worship of Yahweh, the God of Israel, in the land. The demand that the tribes "put away" (the Hiphil of *swr*) the gods of the ancestors reinforces the focus on transition. The imagery may recall the account of Jacob putting away the foreign gods at Shechem (Gen 35:1–4). The shift to the present time and the demand for "choice" on the part of the tribes occasions the further reference to the gods of the Amorites, but it is not the primary focus of Joshua's speech, nor does the topic of the gods of the Amorites return in the response of the tribes (24:16–18). The choice of the tribes to serve Yahweh is based on their experience of the theophany of the "God of Israel" in the "great signs" of the exodus, which they saw with their own eyes (24:17; see 24:7).

The pledge to serve Yahweh (24:14–18) is followed by the covenant ceremony (24:25–27), which includes the writing of the covenant (24:25–26a) and the cultic storage of the document (25:26b–27). The central motifs in the writing include the description of the event as a "covenant" (24:25a), the content of the covenant as a "statute and judgment" (24:25b), and the identification of the "book of the Torah of God" (24:26a). "Covenant" is a frequent motif in the book of Joshua; it is concentrated in the description of the "ark of the covenant," associated with the altar at Mount Ebal, where Joshua wrote the Torah of Moses on the stones (8:32). The covenant at Shechem is not associated with the ark of the covenant, nor is its content the Torah of Moses; it is described instead as a "statute and judgment" (24:25b). The description of Joshua making a covenant at Shechem may be intended to underscore his role as the successor of Moses at the close of the book (Holzinger, 1901: 98). But the characterization of Joshua throughout the book makes clear that he does not replace Moses, nor does his covenant of a "statute and judgment" at Shechem compete in any way with the authority of the "ark of the covenant" and the "Torah of Moses" at Ebal and Gerizim (compare Coote, 1998: 714; Blum, 1984: 60–61; 1997: 203–6; Römer, 2006: 543–44). The establishment of a "statute and judgment" is best interpreted narrowly as the commitment of the tribes to serve Yahweh, the God of Israel, and not as a replacement for or reinterpretation of the Torah of Moses. The continuing role of the Torah of Moses is underscored by the codification of the covenant at Shechem in a distinct book: "And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the Torah of God" (24:26a). The literary horizon of the phrase "these words," which make up the content of the "book of the Torah of God," is not the Hexateuch (compare Blum, 1984: 60–61; 1997: 203–6; 2018: 236; Römer, 2006: 543–44), nor an emerging Enneateuch (compare Brekelmans, 1991: 6; Schmid, 1999: 23; Becker, 2006: 146; Aurelius, 2003: 172–77), nor even the revelation at Sinai (compare Knauf, 2008: 198). Rather, it is the "details and the regulations of the covenant" ceremony in Josh 24 (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 375). The meaning of the "book of the Torah of God" as the content of the covenant ceremony contrasts with the one other occurrence of the phrase in Neh 8:18, where the "book of the Torah of God" likely refers to the Torah of Moses.

The ceremony is completed with the ritual storage of the covenant document (24:26b–27), which includes the placement of a "great stone" (24:26b) beneath a "terebinth" (24:26b) as a "witness" (24:27). The setting of the ritual is the "sanctuary of Yahweh" at Shechem (24:26b). The word "sanctuary" (*miqdaš*) appears only in this passage in the book of Joshua; however, imagery of the sanctuary has appeared at earlier points in the narrative. The booty of precious metals at the end of the destruction of Jericho, for example, was assigned to the treasury of the "house of Yahweh" (*bêt-yhwh*, 6:24; see also 8:23 with the reference to the cultic enslavement of the Gibeonites). Joshua's command to the tribe of West Manasseh to distribute the precious metals (22:8) clarifies the location of the "house of Yahweh." The identification of the "sanctuary of Yahweh" at Shechem maintains the focus on West Manasseh.

The ritual storage of the "book of the Torah of God" involves a "great stone" (*ʾeben gĕdôlâ*) as a "witness" (*ʿēdâ*) to the covenant. The motif of the "stone" to mark the establishment of the covenant continues the frequent role of stones as signifiers of important events throughout the book. The twelve stones memorialized the crossing of the Jordan (4:3, 5, 8, 20); a heap of stones marked the place where Achan and his family were killed (7:25), as well as the grave site of the king of Ai at the city gate (8:29); and the uncut stones were featured prominently in the altar at Ebal and Gerizim (8:31). The "great stone" now marks the sealing of the covenant at Shechem. The function of the stone as a "witness" recalls the altar of the eastern tribes, which was also a witness (22:28). In both cases, the motif signifies a legal relationship (see the "Comments" to Josh 22), which ties a more peripheral religious symbol to the central cultic site of the altar on Mount Ebal. The eastern altar was a "witness" to the sacrificial altar at Mount Ebal; it also symbolized the relationship between the eastern and western tribes. The "great stone" is also a "witness" to the altar on Mount Ebal, which signifies the relationship between the twelve tribes and Yahweh, the God of Israel. The stories employ the motif of "witness" to underscore the pan-Israelite identity of the twelve tribes (Josh 22) and to mark the formation of the league in service to Yahweh, the God of Israel (Josh 24).

The stone is placed beneath the terebinth tree in the sanctuary at Shechem (24:26b). "Terebinth" is a translation of the Hebrew *ʾēlâ*, also written as *ʾēlôn*. Both terms designate a "divine tree" or a "massive tree with cultic significance" (*HALOT* 51–52); the tree is also translated as an "oak" (see the NRSV), but it always has sacred significance. Shechem is associated with a terebinth in a variety of stories. Abraham travels to "Shechem, to the terebinth of Morah" (Gen 12:6); Jacob hid the foreign gods "under the terebinth near Shechem" (Gen 35:4); and Abimelech is made king by the "terebinth of the pillar at Shechem" (Judg 9:6). The tradition of a sacred tree at Shechem is well-established, but it is also difficult to interpret, especially in light of the representation of the goddess Asherah as a stylized tree that is often condemned (see the summary of research in Day, 1986b; 2002: 43–67; Hadley, 2000; Ackerman, 1992; and Olyan, 1988). Deuteronomy 16:21 provides the parade example: "You shall not plant any tree as an Asherah beside the altar of Yahweh your God." The critique of the sacred tree and of its association with an Asherah either as a goddess (e.g., Judg 3:7; 1 Kgs 14:13, 18:19; 2 Kgs 21:7, 23:4; see Day, 2000: 42–46) or as a cultic symbol (e.g., 2 Chr 14:2 [Eng. 14:3], 17:6, 24:18, 33:7) dominates the literature. Similar censures appear in the judgment of the northern (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:15, 2 Kgs 13:6) and the southern (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:23, 2 Kgs 18:4) kings, and in the prophetic tradition (e.g., Hos 4:13, Isa 1:29, Ezek 6:13).

There are indications that the sacred tree functioned in the religion of the Northern Kingdom during the monarchic period. The temple in Samaria, for example, included a sacred tree; it is identified in the temple during the reign of Jehoahaz son of Jehu (2 Kgs 13:5), even though Jehu was described as having purged the non-Yahwistic elements from the cult (2 Kgs 10:18–21). The cult of Bethel also contained a stylized tree, identified as an "Asherah," which Josiah is described as destroying (2 Kgs 23:15). From these and other references, Day (1986b: 406) concluded that the stylized tree of the Asherah was a "feature of popular religion in Israel"; Olyan (1988: 6–8) extended the influence to include popular and state religion in the north. Ackerman (1993) also explored the influence of the "Asherah" in the south in the function of the queen mother. The role of the stylized sacred tree in northern religion was reinforced by the reference to "Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah" at Kuntillet Ajrud (Pithos A), which also contains a drawing of the stylized tree resting on a lion and flanked by goats (for discussion and bibliography, see, among many others, Day, 2002: 49–52; Na'aman and Lissovsky, 2008; and Smoak and Schniedewind, 2019).

The role of the stylized tree as a cultic symbol or as a reference to the goddess Asherah was diminished, perhaps as early as the late monarchic period. Hadley (2000: 62–63) argued the Deuteronomistic condemnation of the Asherah was already detached from the goddess. Day (2002: 52) focused instead on the exile as the time when "the cult of Asherah disappeared . . . as absolute monotheism became solidified." He went further, adding that the meaning of the Asherah even appears to have been forgotten, citing as evidence the LXX translation as "grove" (*alsos*). The symbol of the stylized tree continued to play a role in postexilic Samaria, however. M. Leith (2014) demonstrated its presence in the examination of the stylized tree on Samarian coinage dating to the period 375–332 BCE. She noted in particular the coin Meshorer-45, on which two figures (likely women) flank a tree in the courtyard of a temple (2014: 284–94). The unique imagery, according to Leith, suggested a specific locale or perhaps the restoration of a Samarian shrine (2014: 291). The motif of the terebinth in Josh 24 reinforces the conclusion that the stylized tree continued to have an influence in postexilic Samaria, at least in the literary tradition. The meaning of the terebinth undergoes significant reinterpretation, however. The book of Joshua is thoroughly monotheistic in outlook (see the "Introduction" to *Joshua 1–12* [Dozeman, 2015]). The contrast in the ceremony at Shechem between the past polytheism of the ancestors and the worship of Yahweh alone, symbolized by the "great stone," is meant to reinforce monotheism. The placement of the "great stone" under the terebinth to signify the ratification of the covenant transforms the meaning of the stylized tree from its original association with the goddess into a symbol of monotheism, in which allegiance is restricted to Yahweh, the God of Israel.

The law forbidding the placement of the sacred tree next to the altar in Deut 16:21 may be playing a role in the literary structure of the ceremonies in the book of Joshua. The book recounts two related rituals undertaken in close proximity, which the author keeps separate. The sacrifice on the altar takes place at the summit of Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35); and the covenant ceremony, at the base of the mountains in Shechem (24:1–

33). The rituals share a variety of motifs, including the focus on Yahweh as the "God of Israel" (8:30, 24:2), ritual actions (8:30, 33; 24:26b–27), and the codification of a document (8:32, 24:25–26a). The content of each ritual is different, however. Distinct documents are recorded at each location. The Torah of Moses is inscribed on the altar (8:32), as compared to the Torah of God at the covenant ceremony (24:26b). Ritual actions also contrast. The altar is the site for sacrifices (8:31), as compared with the tribal pledge of loyalty in the ritual of the "great stone" and the terebinth in the covenant ceremony (24:26b). Sacrifice on the altar is a cultic event associated with the ark of the covenant and the Torah of Moses; it results in blessing on the people from the summits of Ebal and Gerizim. The deposit of the great stone beneath the terebinth at Shechem is a social and political ritual codified in the Torah of God; it fashions the twelve tribes into a league in service to Yahweh, the God of Israel. The result is the separation of the altar and the terebinth, following the prohibition in Deut 16:21. The performance of the two rituals completes the book, paving the way for the death of the hero, Joshua.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The book of Joshua ends with three events: the return of the twelve tribes to their separate regions (24:28), the death and burial of Joshua (24:29–30), and the evaluation of Joshua's generation as faithful (24:31). The three motifs combine to provide closing portraits of Joshua and of the twelve tribes. The death notice of Joshua follows the pattern of the deaths of other heroes (e.g., Joseph, Moses), in which the account of death includes the age of the hero and the place of burial. The death notice of Joshua is intended to complete the book; this is underscored by the fact that the death of Joshua does not include the transition to the generation of the judges (see "Composition"). The portrait of the tribes also punctuates the conclusion to the book of Joshua, when the people are described as traveling to their separate tribal territories, thus completing the last stage in the distribution of the land (24:28). The concluding summary underscores the success of the conquest by noting the faithfulness of Joshua's generation (24:31).

Ancient scrolls often acquire additions at the beginning or at the end of the document (Milstein, 2016). The book of Joshua is no different; it acquires two additions at the end: the burial of Joseph's bones (24:32) and the death and burial of Eleazar (24:33). The motif of the bones of Joseph at Shechem reinforces the focus on the northern tribes of Joseph, suggesting its possible inclusion in the original ending to the book. But the disjunctive syntax sets both Joseph's bones and the burial of Eleazar apart from 24:28–31, suggesting that both themes were added to the book (Nelson, 1997: 279–80). The bones of Joseph complete a loosely developed theme woven into the literature from Genesis through Joshua (Blum, 1984: 39–61; 1990: 363–71). The narrative thread begins at the conclusion of Genesis, when Joseph makes the Israelites promise to take his bones from Egypt (Gen 50:26). The motif reappears in the story of the exodus, when Moses takes the bones because of the "solemn oath of the Israelites" (Exod 13:19), thus linking the motif back to Gen 50:26. The oath is fulfilled at the conclusion of the book of Joshua (24:32), which also includes the additional information that Jacob purchased the burial site at Shechem (Gen 33:19). The burial of Eleazar brings to completion the late Priestly insertions, in which Eleazar functions as a leader alongside Joshua in the

distribution of tribal territory (14:1b, 17:4, 19:51a) and in the selection of the Levitical cities (21:1; 22:13, 31, 32; see the "Composition" to Josh 14).

The LXX extends the ending of the book of Joshua even further, adding the motifs of the flint knives (24:31) and the ark (24:33a), the account of the death of Phinehas (24:33a), the negative evaluation of the subsequent generation (24:33b), and their subjugation by Eglon (24:33b). The inclusion of Phinehas extends the time frame of the book of Joshua from the second to the third generation, representing the time of the judges; they are evaluated as being unfaithful. The additions indicate that the LXX ending of the book of Joshua is being harmonized toward the account of the death and burial of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10, 3:12, where the death of Joshua also provides the transition to the next generation, who are unfaithful and eventually oppressed by Eglon (see "Composition").

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